

# *Iberia between Chrosroid and Bagratid Rule*

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## INTRODUCTION

1. The Iberian Monarchy of the Chosroids,<sup>1</sup> the roots of which reached far into the East Mediterranean past and which was traceable, as an institution, to the epoch of the supersedure of the *pax achaemenia* by the *pax macedonica*, came to an end in the sixth century — over a century and a half after the destruction of the neighbouring Armenian Monarchy of the Arsacids.<sup>2</sup> Both kingships were revived, in the latter part of the ninth century, by branches of one and the same dynasty, the Bagratids.<sup>3</sup> Our knowledge of the history of Iberia between the downfall of the Chosroids and the Bagratid restoration is still largely inadequate. The very series of the Princes of Iberia, who replaced the dormant monarchy during that period, has not been sufficiently studied, let alone definitively established. Markwart's (Marquart's) attempt in this direction<sup>4</sup> can be no longer regarded as satisfactory. The list compiled by him suffers from a neglect of the Georgian annalistic sources. The true worth of the Georgian Royal Annals as a collection of highly important historical material was obscured for him by the fact that a late and often faulty recension of that corpus was then alone available to him and by his own lack of conversancy with the original Georgian of even that recension — King Vakhtang VI's.<sup>5</sup>

Markwart relied, therefore, upon the evidence of foreign sources, though he did make some use of certain non-historiographic Georgian material (epigraphic, hagiographic, numismatic). Yet pitfalls await the historian who will rely almost entirely upon foreign sources when treating of the succession of rulers in a polity marked, as was Iberia at the time, by a diminution of the monarchical principle. Foreign writers, albeit contemporary, are known to fail occasionally to distinguish between over-powerful vassals and weak but legitimate chiefs of State.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this dynasty, see I n. 105; II § 11; § 25.1.

<sup>2</sup> The historical background of Iberian society is dealt with in I § 1-11, 18; the end of the Caucasian monarchies, in II § 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> For the Bagratids, see II § 12.9; III; *Bagr. of Iber. I.*

<sup>4</sup> Markwart, *Streifzüge* 431-433: 'Fürsten von Iberien vom Anfang des 6. bis zum Anfang des 9. Jahrhunderts.'

<sup>5</sup> *Introd.* at nn. 37-44.

<sup>6</sup> As an instance, cf. Ibn al-Aṭīr's reference to a Georgian prince, Liparit IV of the Liparitid (subsequently Orbeli) Dynasty, High Constable of Georgia under Bagrat IV (1027-1072) as 'Lifarīt, King of Abasgia (Abḡāz)': J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* II (Paris 1819) 214-216; cf. also CMH 4 (1923) 166 ('Liparit, King of Georgia'). For other instances, see *infra* III nn. 9, 31; II Appendix A 1. For the Liparitids-Orbeli, see II § 12.18; II Appendix C.

Local non-historiographic material, too, unless very ample — and this is not the case of Iberia —, tends to be fragmentary in character. But local annalistic sources, posterior in time though they may be, are based on ancient archival material and historical tradition and, in transmitting the bare facts of succession and filiation as well as in adducing synchronisms, are, for all the later superimposition of detail, more trustworthy than the impressions of outsiders and more coherent than the occasional testimony of local non-historiographic sources.

2. Some of the Georgian annalistic sources for the period are, as a matter of fact, quite adequate for the task of reconstructing the historical development and the series of the rulers of Iberia between the sixth and the ninth century — the task which I propose to undertake in the present Study. This evaluation of the Georgian sources has been made possible by the long period of research which separates Markwart's day from our own.<sup>7</sup> The most important of these sources is the work of Juansher, one of the histories composing the Georgian Annals. Its present name *History of King Vakhtang Gorgasal* must have belonged originally only to its opening part dealing with the reigns of Vakhtang I and his immediate predecessors; this part is now believed to have come from the pen of an earlier, anonymous, chronicler of Ujarma, in Kakhetia. The remaining part of the work is Juansher's own and treats of the subsequent period down to the story of Vakhtang's descendant, St Arch'il († 786); it is now regarded as belonging, in its original form at any rate, to the years 790-800. The anonymous first part is too epic in character and too confused to be accepted at its face value; yet, even in the maze of half-legendary narratives it contains, a framework of history and details of chronology that are essentially correct can be discovered. Juansher's second part, on the other hand, is a valuable work, based unquestionably on still more ancient archival material and fully corroborated by the evidence of contemporary local and foreign sources. Whatever divergencies appear to exist between these sources and Juansher are all easily reconcilable, as will be seen later. Juansher's only drawback is one diametrically opposite to the above-mentioned inadequacy of foreign sources: it is his extreme legitimism. He was himself a scion of the Chosroid Dynasty, and its legitimate, though dethroned, heads, Mihr (Mirian) and Arch'il, remained in his eyes Kings of Iberia, to the exclusion of other, more actual, rulers.<sup>8</sup>

Next in importance is the *Chronicle of Iberia*, compiled in 1072-1073. It begins after the martyrdom of St Arch'il (786) and contains in its opening part some information regarding the last Chosroids and the early Bagratids;

<sup>7</sup> *Introd.* at nn. 40-44.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* at n. 52.

its evidence is unimpeachable.<sup>9</sup> The *Martyrdom of St Arch'il*, dating from the ninth century and erroneously ascribed to Leontius, Bishop of Ruisi (Leonti Mroveli),<sup>10</sup> contains some interesting data. Then, there is a brief chronicle of the Iberian rulers found together with the seventh-century work: *Conversion of Iberia*.<sup>11</sup> This brief *Royal List* — three lists, in fact — is brought down to the time of the sons of the Bagratid Ashot the Great († 830)<sup>12</sup> and displays a number of traces of dependence on Juansher. The prestige it has enjoyed with some historians, owing to its association with the *Conversion of Iberia* to which it was obviously appended later, is ill-founded. It contains, moreover, a number of errors resulting from a tendency to treat the facts of succession as those of genealogical kinship and to regard various unrelated contemporaneous dynasts as close kinsmen. The date of its compilation must lie between that of the death of Ashot the Great and the year 973, in which the Shatberdi Codex, which contains both the *Conversion* and the *Royal List*, was copied.<sup>13</sup> Finally, in his *History of the Bagratids*, written c. 1030, Sumbat<sup>14</sup> offers a list of the rulers of Iberia for the period under discussion. From Guaram I to Ashot the Great, this list is quite worthless being a mere adaptation of Juansher and of the *Royal List*, so arranged as to suit the author's political ideology.<sup>15</sup> There are also a number of other Georgian sources, hagiographic, numismatic, as well as numerous foreign historians, Armenian and Byzantine, which will be adduced in the course of this Study.

3. The historical problems of the period are further complicated by what has until recently been the problem of the origin of the Georgian Bagratids. According to the erroneous tradition of Sumbat, the provenance of which will be examined later (Excursus A), this house was deduced in direct male line from an earlier dynasty of Iberian rulers, the Guaramids, and the latter, in turn, was traced back to the official ancestor of the Bagratid race, King and Prophet David. Until recently, this tradition was given a general acceptance.<sup>16</sup> Yet older and more authoritative sources than Sumbat affirm, in accord with the Armenian historical data, that the Georgian Bagratids branched out of the Armenian Bagratid Dynasty; that this branch removed to Iberia only after the defeat of the Armenian Princes by the Arabs in 772, in the person of Prince

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* at n. 58.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* at n. 53.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* at n. 49; *infra* Excursus A.

<sup>12</sup> For the date of Asot the Great's death, see my *Chronology* 83-85.

<sup>13</sup> *Infra* Excursus A.

<sup>14</sup> *Introd.* at n. 57.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*; *infra* Excursus A.

<sup>16</sup> Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* II/1 'Tables généalogiques' 621-622. For a revival of this tradition by Ingoroqva, see III/II § 18.



Atrnerseh or Adarnase (grandson of Ashot III the Blind, Prince of the Bagratids and Prince of Armenia in 732-748); that Adarnase's son Ashot the Great attained, the first of the Bagratids, to the Principate of Iberia in 813 and thus founded the last royal house of Georgia; and that, finally, the Davidic claim of that house was a further development of the earlier tradition of Hebrew origin entertained by its Armenian ancestors. All this has now come to be accepted by scholars not afflicted with the chauvinism of some Georgians of to-day.<sup>17</sup>

The sources at our disposal indicate, nevertheless, that the Iberian domains of the first Georgian Bagratids were for the most part old Guaramid possessions. This fact and that of their succession to the office of Prince of Iberia once held by the Guaramids, combined with other indications, to be adduced in due time, make one presume that there were possibly some ties of kinship after all, in the female if not in the male line, binding the two dynasties. A thorough examination of the sources will, it is believed, yield support to this conjecture.

## I. — END OF THE IBERIAN MONARCHY

4. The Iranian abolition of the Chosroid Monarchy in Iberia in the sixth century, like that of the Arsacid Monarchy in Armenia in the fifth, had been brought about in part by a struggle between the Crown and its great vassals.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the Chosroid epoch in Iberian history was to a great extent contained in that strife.<sup>2</sup> But it had become involved in a vaster conflict: the cultural and political rivalry of the Roman and Iranian empires in Caucasia. The Iranian claim to the overlordship of Iberia, and of Caucasia in general, dated ultimately from the days of the Achaemenids, whereas Rome's claim originated in her victory over Mithridates Eupator and his allies. Roman suzerainty over Iberia, established in 65 B.C., when Pompey defeated King Artag-Artoces of Iberia, ally of the vanquished Mithridates, was finally ceded to Iran in the treaty of 363, concluded upon the defeat of the Apostate, by the Emperor Jovian and the Great King Sapor II.<sup>3</sup> The attempt of the Emperor Valens, in 370, to re-establish that suzerainty over at least a half of Iberia, by splitting the country into two vassal States, one Roman and the other Iranian, proved ephemeral.<sup>4</sup> The dependence of the whole of Iberia on

<sup>17</sup> Markwart, *Streifzüge*, 'Der Ursprung der iberischen Bagratiden'; Toumanoff, *Bagr. of Iber.* I; III/II § 16-17; III/III; cf. III/II § 18.

<sup>1</sup> II § 3; cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 178-184, cf. 191: '...les grandes familles féodales qui s'étaient substituées à la royauté arsacide et se partageaient le pays.'

<sup>2</sup> II § 3; cf. S. Janašić's criticism of S. Kakabaje, in *BIM* 4/2 (1938) 183.

<sup>3</sup> I § 10; II n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> V § 11 at nn. 99-109.

the Sassanid empire was conceded by Rome, as seems most probable, in the similar division of Armenia into two vassal States by the accord of 387 of Theodosius the Great and Sapor III.<sup>5</sup> The two parallel struggles, internal and external, nevertheless continued. While the Crown in Iberia, as in Armenia gravitated, in its endeavour to enhance its power, towards the autocratic and bureaucratic Roman State, its princely vassals were drawn in the opposite direction attracted by the feudalistic and aristocratic realm of the Sassanids in alliance with which they hoped to preserve their dynastic rights.<sup>6</sup>

The Iberian polity has already been examined elsewhere in some detail.<sup>7</sup> Suffice it to mention here that its distinctive feature was the fact that the upper layer of the nobility was formed by a group — a caste — of dynastic princes, congeneric with the Crown and distinct from the lesser nobility. More than this, this group was anterior to the Crown, which had originated in its midst. The Caucasian kingdoms, in these circumstances, were largely each a federation of dynasts or sub-kings presided over by one of them, the super-dynast or king. Accordingly, the Iberian Monarchy came into being when one dynastic lineage, that of Armazi-Mts'khet'a, could reduce to obedience the other dynastic lineages of Iberia. Not satisfied, however, with this political ascendancy, the Kings of Iberia, like those of Armenia, were to strive to convert it into a more solid control by acting upon a 'monogenetic' theory of sovereignty that counterbalanced the 'polygenetic' sovereignty of the princes. Thus feudal features were introduced in a dynasticist society.<sup>8</sup> And the most notable of these features was the institution of the order of the *erist'avn* ('dukes'), to control the *m'avar* or *sep'eculn* ('princes' or 'royal children'), as the dynasts were termed. The setting up of the seven dukedoms is one of the earliest recorded acts of the Iberian Monarchy. The dukes were at once civil governors and military commanders of their duchies and, in the latter capacity, subject to the High Constable or *spaspet* who was *ex officio* Duke of (the nucleal province of) Inner Iberia. However, this was less a supersedure of the princes than the conversion of the more important among them into officers of the State entrusted with the control of the rest. In this way, the Crown, anxious to claim, 'monogenetically,' the fullness of sovereignty for itself alone, was able gradually to deprive the lesser princes of much of their 'polygenetic' sovereignty, while sharing it, under the guise of feudal delegation, with only a few among them. Nevertheless, the Iberian Dukes, unquestionably of princely origin for the most part, and the Iberian Princes soon

<sup>5</sup> II n.6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* § 3.

<sup>7</sup> I § 11, 18.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.* § 2.

came to form one group, the former term merely expressing its feudal aspect, as the latter expressed its dynasticist aspect. And before long, its aims frustrated, the Crown was faced with the opposition of a united feudal-dynasticist aristocracy. This was the nature of the internal struggle in Iberian, as in Armenian, society.<sup>9</sup>

5. It is in this light that the end of the Chosroid Monarchy of Iberia can be properly understood. The two struggles — internal and external — and their conjunction are especially manifest in what undoubtedly was the last great reign of the Chosroid Monarchy, that of King Vakhtang I Gorgasal. After him, the end came rapidly. His becoming the hero of a legendary epic, his struggle with his most important vassal and his Iranian suzerain, and his choice of a new policy on a world-wide scale bear eloquent witness to his greatness as a ruler. Therein, too, lies his difficulty for the historian, for the chief Georgian source for his reign is precisely the heroicizing epic — the *History of Vakhtang Gorgasal* (hereinafter HVG) *par excellence* — that forms the first part of Juansher's historical work. It takes, therefore, much effort to extract from it shreds of history; but it can be done. What saves him from being consigned altogether to the realm of legend is that he is briefly mentioned by Lazarus of P'arpi and, somewhat more extensively, by Procopius. We must begin by establishing for him the framework of chronology. Early Georgian works seldom contain dates; but they supply us instead with rather copious synchronisms. It is with synchronisms that we must operate in establishing that framework. Vakhtang is said to have succeeded at the age of seven his father Mithridates V.<sup>10</sup> At the age of nineteen he married Balendukht, daughter of the Great King Hormizd.<sup>11</sup> The latter can have been none other than Hormizd III (457-459);<sup>12</sup> accordingly, Vakhtang must have been born c. 439 (457/459, i. e., c. 458—19) and ascended the throne c. 446. As will be seen, he is said to have been about sixty when the Great King Kavādh I was preparing for the war of 502-506 against the Empire; and his death occurred in 522. He was, thus, aged about eighty-three when he died; and it may be noted in passing that his adversary Kavādh I also died, in 551, at the age of eighty or eighty-two.<sup>13</sup>

At the age of sixteen,<sup>14</sup> Vakhtang is reported to have waged a brief — four months — war on the Alanians (Ossetians) in the north, who had been

<sup>9</sup> In Armenia, where the princes were more powerful vis-à-vis the monarchy, every prince was also a duke: *ibid.* at n. 188.

<sup>10</sup> HVG (= Juansher) 143.

<sup>11</sup> *Infra* n. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 289-290.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 296 n.6.

<sup>14</sup> HVG 151.

troubling the peace of his kingdom;<sup>15</sup> and then to have turned, in the course of the following three years, to attacking the Imperial possessions in West Georgia.<sup>16</sup> After that, he married the Iranian princess.<sup>17</sup> These attacks on Colchis-Lazica must, accordingly, have taken place c. 455-458. And it is, precisely, in 456 that the Emperor Marcian was obliged to dispatch a military expedition against the Lazic Kings of Colchis.<sup>18</sup> King Gubazes I, who had been negotiating with Iran, had to submit to the Empire and even, temporarily, to abdicate in favour of his son; though he soon returned to power.<sup>19</sup> It is not difficult to perceive that what was involved was an attempt of the Lazic Monarchy of West Georgia to shake off whatever tenuous Imperial suzerainty there had remained, and to achieve this with the aid of Iran. The Great King, however, was then entangled in a struggle with the Hephthalites and so could offer no aid to Gubazes.<sup>20</sup> It is possible, therefore, that Vakhtang's anti-Roman campaign in West Georgia was made in his capacity as a vassal of the Great King, and as a substitute for a direct aid. HVG, it is true, mentions the Emperor 'Leo the Great' in this context,<sup>21</sup> but as Leo succeeded Marcian early (on 7 February) in 457<sup>22</sup> this is not a great error, especially as the struggle may very well have gone on, as HVG does in fact show, after 456. It was only in 466 that Gubazes I journeyed to Constantinople to offer his submission to the Emperor.<sup>23</sup>

HVG relates, next, another attack on Roman West Georgia, mentioning this time that it was made in alliance with Iran, and, moreover, connects it with Vakhtang's interference in Armenia.<sup>24</sup> Putting the question of Armenia

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 150-157. Vaxtang was aged ten when the Ossetians attacked Iberia (c. 439 + 10 = c. 449): *ibid.* 145-146.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 157-158 (the V Recension omits the phrase indicative of the duration of the war but it is also found in the *Chron. armén.* 78).

<sup>17</sup> HVG 158.

<sup>18</sup> For the Kingdom of Lazica, see Javakhvili, *K'art' er. ist.* I (1951) 239-240, 243-244, 246-262, 274-276; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 152-152; *Division* 56-58; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 352-353, 257; — II 267-271, 303, 492-494, 505-521; Vasiliev, *Justin* 255-268; II § 26.1.

<sup>19</sup> Priscus fr. 25, 26 (102-103); cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 352-353. A recent translation of Priscus puts this expedition in the same year as Gubazes I's visit to the Emperor (*infra* at n. 23), i.e., 465/466: C.D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila* (Ann Arbor 1960) 11. There can be no reason for assuming that Priscus's fr. 25 and 26 refer to the same epoch as his fr. 34.

<sup>20</sup> Priscus fr. 25; cf. Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 7 n.5, for the identification of the 'Cidarite Huns' (spoken of by Priscus in this connexion and also in fr. 41 [109]) with the White Huns or Hephthalites.

<sup>21</sup> HVG 157.

<sup>22</sup> Cf., e.g., Grumel, *Chronologie* 356.

<sup>23</sup> Priscus, fr. 34 (107); *Vita S. Danielis stylitis* 51 (169).

<sup>24</sup> HVG 159-178.

aside for the moment, there was indeed another flare-up of hostilities in West Georgia, c. 468. Gubazes and the Romans attacked pro-Iranian Suania and met a joint Iranian-Iberian resistance; when, however, the Great King had achieved success on the Hephthalite front, and so was in a position to attend to the western front, the Emperor Leo, engaged as he was elsewhere, abandoned his Lazic vassal to his fate.<sup>25</sup> This doubtless is the reason why HVG emphasizes the victorious character of this second Roman war of King Vakhtang. Between these two wars, i.e., in the period of c. 458-468, Vakhtang is said by our source to have reached the age of twenty-two (c. 439 + 22 = c. 461).<sup>26</sup> Whatever may have been the King's activities with regard to West Georgia, his actions in Armenia manifested a diametrically opposite political orientation to that followed heretofore, and occurred over a decade later. The author of HVG shared with his continuator, Juansher, the same political sympathies. Accordingly, in addition to being too epic, the story of Vakhtang is further distorted by the author's pro-Iranian orientation, typical of the Iberian aristocracy of the time. In actual fact, Vakhtang Gorgasal, because he was a strong sovereign, abandoned the political sphere of Iran, Iberia's suzerain from the fourth century, and effected a *rapprochement* with the Empire.

6. It was the King's conflict with a representative of the princely group — another concomitant of his being a strong monarch — and the religious considerations implicated in it that brought about this reversal of alliances. The most powerful prince of the realm was then, without a doubt, Varsk'en, Vitaxa of Gogarene. He appears to have been, moreover, a resolute opponent of the Crown: at least, he pushed his Iranophilism to the point of Mazdaizing under the blandishing pressure of the Court of Ctesiphon. This apostasy fetched a great recompense: the hand of an imperial princess of Iran and the viceroyalty of Albania. He was, however, already married — to a Mamikonid princess, St Susan to be — and his wife proved a staunch Christian, staunchly opposed to his change of religion. The result was her martyrdom at his hands, on 17 October 475. It took his cautious overlord, the King of Iberia, seven years to prepare for a reprisal; and it was only in 482 that Vakhtang put Varsk'en to death.<sup>27</sup> The moment must have seemed propitious: the Great King was involved in another Hephthalite war<sup>28</sup> and in Armenia the Mamikonids and their allies among the princes were growing restive.<sup>29</sup> By his act, which

<sup>25</sup> Priscus fr. 41 (109); cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 357.

<sup>26</sup> HVG 159.

<sup>27</sup> II Appendix II (6); and, for the Vitaxae of Gogarene in general, also II § 10-11.

<sup>28</sup> Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 293-294; for the date: Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 5 n. 7. Cf. *infra* n. 29.

<sup>29</sup> Grousset, *Histoire* 213-215.

must have enhanced the King's moral prestige at home, he placed himself in a state of revolt against his suzerain, the Great King;<sup>30</sup> he then sought the aid of the trans-Caucasian Huns and the cooperation of the Armenian Princes. After some hesitation, the Armenians, led by St Susan's cousin Prince Vahan Mamikonian, began their revolt. Hunnic aid, however, proved insufficient, though the Empire seems to have given some, unofficial, assistance. At any rate the insurrection, in either country, was not a great success: the Iberians were routed and the Armenians took to guerilla warfare. There was also a revolt in Albania. In the course of all this, two Iranian campaigns of repression took place in Iberia: in 483 under the command of Shāhpuhr Mihrān and in 484 under that of Zarmihr Kārin. The latter forced Vakhtang to flee to Lazica and Imperial protection. Then the unexpected happened: the Great King Pērōz was defeated and fell, in that same year, fighting the Hephthalites. Receiving this intelligence Zarmihr hastened to Ctesiphon to influence the selection of a new sovereign. It was Valāsh who became Great King and who was obliged, in the weakened state of his realm, to temporize in Caucasia. In 485, Valāsh granted autonomy to the Armenians; in Albania, the recently dispossessed Arsacids were reinstated; and Vakhtang of Iberia was left in peace, which made possible his *rapprochement* with the Empire.<sup>31</sup>

This is confirmed by HVG. It mentions the amity between Iberia and the Empire—which involved a resettlement, favourable to the former, of the frontier line —,<sup>32</sup> placing it at the end of the 'victorious war,' and it relates that

<sup>30</sup> This is how Lazarus qualifies this act in 66 (260): *zapstambut' iwnn Vrac' ark'ayin*.

<sup>31</sup> The chief source for this revolt is Lazarus 66-87; and its chronology can be established from the sequence of events in his narrative. According to Lazarus, Vaxtang revolted in the 25th year of Pērōz (66 [259]); this date can be either 484 or 482, depending on whether the regnal year was computed from the beginning of Pērōz's revolt against his predecessor or from his definitive accession to the throne after the latter's death (cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 279 n. 1): it was obviously 482, in the context of the events that followed (Javakishvili, *K'art'ir. ist.* I has 484: 241, 289, but 483: 280). A winter passed (Laz. 71 [282]); then summer came (Laz. 73 [293]); then another winter (Laz. 77 [311]); and finally, spring (Laz. 78 [316]). Zarmihr arrived in Armenia (*ibid.*). Pērōz departed for the Hephthalite war and ordered Zarmihr to chastise Vaxtang (Laz. 79 [321-322]). Iberia was invaded; Vaxtang fled to Lazica; Šāhpuhr became Viceroy of Armenia (Laz. 80). Pērōz was killed in the war; the news of this reached Armenia; Zarmihr hastened back to Ctesiphon (Laz. 85-87): this took place in 484 (Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 294). The peace of Valāš (Laz. 88-99). — See also Grousset, *Histoire* 216-229 (whose chronology is not altogether exact) and, for Zeno's aid, 224, 226. — For Albania, see Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 218-219, 225.

<sup>32</sup> HVG 177-178. The details of the frontier settlement are analyzed in V at n. 113. — That the Emperor Zeno should have been willing to cede to the King of Iberia what amounted to the southern frontier of Colchis-Lazica and even a foothold on the sea, as implied in our History, may not appear altogether incredible in the historical circumstances of his reign. Already under Marcian, the Imperial government, faced with the Hunnic menace, was con-



the Great King heard of Vakhtang's defection and died, being succeeded by his son, who, three years after his accession, waged war on Iberia.<sup>33</sup> Except at this point, the Georgian versions of the Royal Annals, of which HVG is a part, are in agreement with the earliest known, abridged Armenian, version of them, the so-called *Chronique arménienne*; here, however, the latter differs from the others in that it states that the Iberian war was waged, not three years after the new Great King's accession, but immediately thereafter and for four months.<sup>34</sup> Both accounts are in error, for they obviously disfigure the fact of Vakhtang's struggle with Iran which lasted for three years: from his revolt in 482 to the peace settlement of Valāsh in 485. But the death of Vakhtang's adversary Pērōz is erroneously placed at the beginning of that struggle.<sup>35</sup> After that, an Ibero-Iranian peace ensued,<sup>36</sup> which was the Peace of Valāsh.

Next, our History proceeds to recapitulate by narrating, in some detail, the campaigns which Vakhtang and his imperial Sassanid suzerain waged in India.<sup>37</sup> If at all based on any historical fact, this narrative must be a reminiscence of

strained to neglect the Caucasian affairs. Thus, the Empire failed to aid the Armenian insurrection of 450-451 (cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 198-199); and it had to contend with the growing independence of the Lazic kings of Colchis and the growing Iranian influence there: *supra* at nn. 18-25. But it had to give up these efforts, and Damnazes, King of Lazica, became a Mazdaist and an Iranian vassal. This must have occurred about the time of Vaxtang's drawing together with the Empire, because Damnazes's son and successor Tzathus I returned to the Christian faith and Roman allegiance in 522: *infra* at n. 55. In these circumstances, it is not difficult to conceive the gratification that the King of Iberia's adoption of a pro-Roman policy, in the years 482-485, must have caused at the Court of Constantinople; so that the above territorial concessions — made at the expense, most probably, of the recalcitrant Lazians — as well as the marital alliance (*infra* at n. 40) need cause no astonishment.

<sup>33</sup> HVG 178-181.

<sup>34</sup> *Chron. armén.* 85. It is difficult to understand how the phrase *ew kyue'an ēnd mimeans zamiss ē'ors* could have been translated by Brosset as 'ils se firent la guerre durant trois ans': *Additions* 41. This reference to four months must have been misplaced here from the Alanian war of Vaxtang; cf. *supra* at n. 15.

<sup>35</sup> The only Great King so far mentioned by name was Hormizd (III), Vaxtang's father-in-law (158; *supra* at nn. 11, 17). Other Great Kings are not mentioned by a *praenomen*, except occasionally by the name Xuasro or Chosroes, which is the royal Iranian name *par excellence*, i.e., a dynastic title, like 'Arsaces' among the Arsacids, as in HVG 182, 184, 186, 187, 196, 199, 200, 201. Cf. II Appendix A II (6). Thus, in HVG 161, the adversary of Julian the Apostate is called Chorsoes, and in 186, the second successor of Hormizd III (*scil.* Valāš) is also so called and, moreover, confused with Chosroes I, and so credited with the taking of Antioch. HVG, moreover, tends to qualify successors as 'sons': thus the second Great King after Hormizd III, i.e., Valāš, is called the son of the first one, i.e., Pērōz, instead of brother, as would have been correct.

<sup>36</sup> HVG 181-187.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 188-195.

the Hephthalite wars, in which Vakhtang may, as an Iranian vassal, have participated.<sup>38</sup> He could not, obviously, have taken part in the disastrous second war of Pērōz, because at that time he himself was struggling against Iran. Consequently, if he ever fought in a Hephthalite war, it could only be in the first war of Pērōz, in 474-476.<sup>39</sup> The Byzantine *rapprochement*, sealed ultimately by Vakhtang's marriage to an Imperial relative, which HGV mentions next,<sup>40</sup> can, clearly, be only a renewed reference to the amity sprung from

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 189 nn. 2, 3, etc.; Javakšvili, *K'art. er. ist.* I 332.

<sup>39</sup> Its date: Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 5 n. 7. It is generally admitted that there were only two Hephthalite wars of Pērōz: Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 293-294; Javakšvili, *K'art. er. ist.* I 332, however, speaks of three wars. It is well known that the successful campaign against the Hephthalites in which Zarmihr Kārin is supposed to have avenged Pērōz, as reported by a later tradition, never in fact took place: Christensen 296 n. 2. Nevertheless, the tradition of three wars may be due to the fact that the second one consisted of two campaigns. It has been established that the second war lasted from 482 to 484: *supra* n. 28. Yet Lazarus, 79, speaks of Pērōz as departing for the campaign, in which he was to lose his life, only in 484: *supra* n. 31. The Syriac chronicle known under the name of Josue the Stylites may offer a solution. Ps. Josue, 10-11, in fact speaks of three campaigns of Pērōz. In the first two he was captured, in the third killed; and the third appears to have followed the second almost immediately and may thus have formed with it one war, the second war of Pērōz. Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 1. 3-4, on the other hand, speaks of only two actions, in the first of which the Great King lost his liberty and in the second of which he lost his life: a natural enough telescoping of the similar first and second campaigns into one. There seems to be no reason for discarding the information of so important a source as Ps. Josue, as does Christensen 293 n. 4.

<sup>40</sup> HVG 198. Vaxtang's queen is said to have been Helena, the Emperor's daughter. The word 'daughter' need not imply, however, any more than 'relative' in this context. Exactly so, for instance, the marriage of Kata of Georgia to Alexius Bryennius, son of the celebrated Anna Comnena, is mentioned in the *Hist. David III*, 334, as her being sent to be a daughter-in-law (*sjlad*) of the Emperor. The use of 'son' in the sense of 'successor,' in reference to foreign monarchs, has already been noted (*supra* n. 35). — The fact that the only Emperor to be given his *praenomen* in HVG is Leo I (157) has led to the presumption that the unnamed Emperor, whose 'daughter' Vaxtang married, must be identical with him: Brosset, 'Tables généalogiques,' *Hist. de la Gé.* II/1 261. The name of Leo borne by Vaxtang's eldest surviving son by Helena cannot be taken as a confirmation of this, because Zeno, the Emperor with whom Vaxtang concluded his alliance and whose relative he, consequently, married, was himself associated with that *praenomen*, being the son-in-law of the first, and father of the second (and short-lived) Emperor Leo. As has been seen, the final part of HVG is telescoped: it fuses together two facts about Kavād I: his war with Anastasius and his struggle with Vaxtang. In the same way, it also fuses into one person (the Emperor, Vaxtang's 'father-in-law') two Emperors, Zeno, whose relative Vaxtang married, and Anastasius, who married Zeno's widow Ariadne. The first confusion is due to the identity of the agent; the second, to the similarity of the genealogical situation and, doubtless, also to the same anti-Chalcedonian religious policy of the two Emperors. Unaware of this second confusion, the redactor or redactors of the *Chron. armén.* as well as those of the Recension V must have reasoned that, if the King's 'father-in-law' was the Emperor Leo, then the

that insurrection. The Emperor of that *rapprochement* is not named, but the chronology of the case indicates that he was Zeno (474-491), precisely the Emperor who appears to have rendered unofficial aid to the Caucasian insurgents in 482-484.<sup>41</sup>

7. Our source then relates the accession of a new Great King<sup>42</sup>, who now made preparations for a war on the Empire. Vakhtang, who had already reached the age of about sixty, was invited to join the war, but refused. This provoked a second Iranian invasion of Iberia. Meantime, the Emperor died and was followed by another.<sup>43</sup> Finally, Vakhtang himself passed away, having been mortally wounded in the struggle against the invader.<sup>44</sup> This portion of HVG is curiously telescoped and accelerated, and so, vague, in order to conceal, doubtless, the unheroic conclusion of an over-heroicized reign. But even here, some historical truth can be salvaged. Vakhtang was about sixty at the turn of the century (c. 439 + 60), so that the war which was now being prepared can only have been that of Kavādh I and Anastasius I, of 502-506;<sup>45</sup> and Kavādh was in fact a successor of Valāsh.<sup>46</sup> The invasion of Iberia, on the other hand, can only refer to the hostilities of the same Kavādh — hence the confusion — which Vakhtang had to sustain only later, beginning c. 517/518. It is here that, the Iberian historical tradition failing to offer any more evidence, the near-contemporary Procopius supplies us with the rest of the story. Procopius records that the Emperor Justin I — who indeed had followed Anastasius in 518 — received an appeal for aid from the King of Iberia *Γουργέγγης* who had to contend with the Mazdaist pressure of Iran. But, Byzantine aid, when given, proving insufficient — and this, too, finds an echo in HVG — the King was constrained to flee to Lazica.<sup>47</sup> That the Gur-

next Emperor must have been Zeno; and so Zeno's *praenomen* was interpolated into the accelerated last portion of HVG, where reference is made to the death of the 'father-in-law' and to the accession of a new Emperor (who in reality was Justin I: *infra* n. 43): *Chron. armén.* 93; HVG 203 (it is to be regretted that Q should have inserted into the text the name of Zeno absent in the three oldest codd. A, C, and M).

<sup>41</sup> *Supra* n. 31.

<sup>42</sup> HVG 199; he is named Chosroes and 'son' of his predecessor, likewise Chosroes; cf. *supra* nn. 35, 40.

<sup>43</sup> HVG 203: likewise 'son' of his predecessor; cf. *supra* nn. 35, 40.

<sup>44</sup> HVG 199-204.

<sup>45</sup> See, for this war, e.g., Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 92-101; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 10-15.

<sup>46</sup> Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 296-297; he was a son of Pērōz.

<sup>47</sup> *Bell. pers.* 1.12; cf. HVG 203 where the Emperor is said to have come to Syspiritis in order to enter Iberia, but, on hearing of the King's being hard pressed by the enemy, to have turned back. There are also references to the Emperor's contact with the Huns ('Khazars'): HVG 182, 183; and also the detail of the sending of Probus, the Emperor Anastasius I's

genes of Procopius be Vakhtang, is hardly possible to doubt. Procopius obviously refers to him by a Greek rendering of his sobriquet of Gorgasal.<sup>48</sup> This, however, has not been accepted in historiography. The difference of the two *praenomina*, just explained, has been one of the reasons for this; the other has been the seeming chronological difficulty. While Vakhtang has been assigned too high a death-date — 503 at the latest<sup>49</sup> —, the flight of Gurgenes has been

nephew, to the Huns in order to obtain aid for Iberia (Procopius 1.12.6-11), in the misplaced and disfigured reference to one Palekartos or Palekarpos, son of the Emperor's sister: HGV 166-176. The words of Procopius: διὸ δὴ Γουργένης προσχωρεῖν Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἤθελε τὰ τε πιστὰ ἡξίου λαβεῖν ὥς οὐποτε Ἰβηρας καταπροήσονται Πέρσαις Ῥωμαῖοι (1.12.5), etc. can be interpreted to imply that Imperial suzerainty over Iberia was re-established only then, under Justin I; but, as has been seen, the *rapprochement* (implying, of its nature, vassal-suzerain relations) of Iberia and the Empire began already under Zeno: it was Iran's weakness after the defeat of 484 that made it possible. The religious implications of this drawing together, confirming the point just made, are treated elsewhere: *Christian Caucasasia*. Procopius's references to Caucasian affairs are to be treated with some caution. We know that he misdates the Partition of Armenia (*ibid.* at n. 80) and misinterprets the reduction of the royal powers of Vaxtang's successors (*infra* at n. 61). Exactly so, Vaxtang's appeal for aid to his suzerain the Emperor, and possibly the first *implementing* of that suzerainty, Procopius mistakes for a transfer of allegiance from Iran to Rome.

<sup>48</sup> *Gurgasal/gorgasal* is a Georgian transcription of the Persian *gurgasar* ('wolf's head') through the mutation *r>l*, typical of Georgian: Marr and Brière, *Langue* 28, 30. This is how HVG 180 explains it. The first part of this sobriquet, *gurg/gorg* is paronymous with *Gurgen*, a name used in Caucasia and Graecized as *Γουργένης*; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 355-356. For the possible connexion of this surname with the pre-Christian cult of the wolf/dog in Caucasia, see Allen, *Ex Ponto*, III and IV 29 and *passim*. As Brosset and Markwart have suggested, the explanation of this term as 'wolf-lion,' involving the description in HVG 180 of the King's golden helmet as having the effigy of a wolf in front and one of a lion in the back, as well as leading to the change of the term itself to *gurga(r)slan*, and thus making of it a hybrid Pers.-Turk. word, is a later development (and the description of the helmet a later interpolation): cf. Allen n. 4.

<sup>49</sup> Various older historians regard Vaxtang Gorgasal as distinct from Gurgenes: e.g., Brosset, *Additions* 85 (who takes the latter to have been a local dynast and not a King of Iberia). Markwart, *Streifzüge* 431 (who ignores Vaxtang); Javaxišvili, *K'art. er. ist.* I 244-246, cf. 240-243, 288-290; Gorgaje, 'Carileba Sak'art. ist.,' AG 2 (1913) 66-67; Gugushvili, *Chron. Geneal. Table* 114, 115. The chronological difficulty (and it is the chief one) of these scholars is due to their following not the synchronisms of the Georgian sources, but the erroneous chronological system devised in the eighteenth century by the scholarly Prince Vaxušt (natural son of Vaxtang VI), according to which Vaxtang I reigned from 446 to 499. Gorgaje, on his part, proposed 450-503 as that King's regnal years; and Javaxišvili, 288-290, made him die in 502. Gorgaje also argued against the onomastic identity on the ground that Lazarus mentions the King by his *praenomen* of Vaxtang and not by his sobriquet of Gorgasal and that, consequently, the latter must be a later invention: *op. cit.* 63. It may be remarked, however, first, that the Armenians were in a better position than the Byzantines to differentiate between the two names, and used the former, as is often done in HVG itself; and, secondly, that, according to his biographer, he acquired the appellation in question *after* his inter-

put too low. Accepting the *apparent* sequence of events in Procopius, the appeal of the King of Iberia to Justin I, and his flight, have been placed *after* the unsuccessful attempt of Kavādh to have his son Chosroes adopted by the Emperor, i. e., after 524.<sup>50</sup> But a careful perusal of Procopius will convince one that the flight of the King of Iberia need not have occurred after the Imperial refusal. Procopius says, in effect, that immediately after that event the Great King contemplated a retaliation, but that the Iberians constituted an obstacle to his plans. They were excellent Christians, Procopius goes on to say, and just at that time Kavādh was anxious to force upon them the Mazdaist religion. This it was that made Gurgenes appeal to the Empire for aid and, consequently, flee to Lazica. All this means, actually, that the troubles in Iberia, which kept the Great King's hands tied in 524-526, must have started at an earlier date. In fact, it is highly probable that the attempts to impose Mazdaism on Iberia were made by Kavādh sometime between 498/499 and 517/518: the first date being that of his restoration,<sup>51</sup> when he must have striven to show zeal for the official religion, the neglect of which had cost him his throne in 496;<sup>52</sup> the second, of the presence at Tiflis of an Iranian viceroy,<sup>53</sup> installed there, as we may suppose, to enforce the new religious policy of the Iranian suzerain of Iberia. As a matter of fact, it is most likely that the flight of the King of Iberia to Lazica occurred in 522, precisely at the time when Lazica returned, after a lapse into Zoroastrianism and Iranian allegiance, to the Byzantine alliance that was sealed in the baptism, that year, of King Tzathus I.<sup>54</sup> Since at the time of his flight Vakhtang must have reached his eighty-third year, he must have died soon afterwards. The chronological difficulty in identifying Procopius's King of Iberia with Vakhtang I Gorgasal appears to exist in reality no more than the already mentioned onomastic one. The date 522 for the death of Vakhtang, moreover, finds support in other chronological indications which will be adduced below.<sup>55</sup>

ference in Armenia. Accordingly, to his more recent allies, the Byzantines, his freshly acquired *nom de guerre* could be easily more familiar than his *praenomen*.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 269-271; Vasiliev, *Justin* 269.

<sup>51</sup> Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 350.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 356-357, 348.

<sup>53</sup> Markwart, *Streifzüge* 431.

<sup>54</sup> Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 267; Vasiliev, *Justin* 259-261. Vasiliev 261-262 is needlessly puzzled by the baptism of Tzathus. Quite obviously, he had participated in his father's Mazdaizing, and probably had been brought up as a Mazdaist. The fact that the Lazians had long been Christians (adduced by him) is no argument against their rulers' lapses.

<sup>55</sup> It has been thought, e.g., by Markwart, *Streifzüge* 431; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 80, Vasiliev, *Justin* 270-272; and (indirectly implied by) Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 295. n. 1. that Vaxtang-Γουγγένης proceeded from Lazica to Constantinople. All that Procopius says, however, is that 'afterwards the Iberians presented themselves in Byzantium' (*Bell.*

Vakhtang's reversal of allegiance and, in particular, his appeal to Justin I for aid and the latter's granting it were among the causes that, along with Lazica's similar change of obedience and Justin's refusal to adopt the Prince Chosroes, led to another war between the two empires. This war broke out in 526 and was terminated in the peace of 532, concluded by Justin's successor Justinian I and Chosroes I, the successor of Kavādh.<sup>56</sup> Its provisions included — covertly — the cession of the suzerain rights over Iberia by the Emperor to the Great King.<sup>57</sup> This was a victory, we may be certain, not only for the Iranian overlord, but also for the Iberian vassals, of the Chosroids; and now the victors must have seen to it that the pro-Roman and autocratic tendencies of the Iberian Crown be curbed. Already, as has been noted, an Iranian viceroy was set up at the royal capital of Tiflis as early as in 517/518, during Vakhtang I's second conflict with Iran.<sup>58</sup> A contemporary hagiographical source indicates the presence there of two other viceroys of the Great King, in 540/541 and in 543/544.<sup>59</sup> There is no mention in it of a king, at Tiflis at any rate, and the local princes, headed by the Katholikos (Primate) of Iberia and another dignitary, styled *Mamasaxlisi* of Iberia, are shown paying court to the Iranian viceroy.<sup>60</sup> And yet, the trustworthy Juansher, whose own narrative now follows HVG, supplies us with a list of Vakhtang's successor: on the throne of Iberia to the end of the sixth century. The disrepute in which the Georgian Royal Annals were once mistakenly held and the silence regarding the monarchy in the above-mentioned hagiographic work (which only incidentally treats of the political situation in Iberia) had led the older historians

*pers.* 1.12.14), which can mean that only *some* of the fugitives, who had followed the King into exile, not necessarily the King himself, did so.

<sup>56</sup> For this war: Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 267-273, 287-293; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 79-89.

<sup>57</sup> The cession of Iberia to Iran is nowhere explicitly mentioned: Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 1.22. However, the clause (*ibid.* 1.22.16) that the Iberian émigrés in the Empire might if they so chose, return to their homeland is a clear indication that Iberia now depended on Iran and not on the Empire. Cf. Stein 294. The qualifying adjective *ἀπέραντος*, applied to this treaty by Procopius (1.22.17), has been generally rendered as 'eternal' (e.g., Stein *loc. cit*) or 'endless' (e.g., Bury 88). Actually it seems to mean 'without limit' in the sense that no agreement was made as to its duration and that it was, accordingly, revocable at will by either of the contracting parties: M. Higgins, 'International Relations at the Close of the Sixth Century,' *CHR* 27 (1941) 286 n. 22.

<sup>58</sup> *Supra* at n. 54. It was Vaxtang who transferred the royal residence from Mc'xet'a to Tiflis: Juanšer 205.

<sup>59</sup> *Mart. Eust.* 1 (44), 2 (45, 46), 3, (46, 47), and 4 (47, 48), 7 (53), 8 (53, 54); cf. Markwart *Streifzuge* 432. The citadel of Mc'xet'a, too, was then under an Iranian commander: *Mart. Eust.* 2 (45-46).

<sup>60</sup> *Mart. Eust.* 3 (46-47); cf. I n. 132 (*Grigol, Ka'rt'liša mamasaxlisi*).



to reject Juansher's evidence and to take *au pied de la lettre* the affirmation of Procopius to the effect that the Iranians abolished the Iberian Monarchy after the flight to the Empire of King Gorgasal-Gurgenes.<sup>61</sup> All these divergencies, however, are only apparent and can be easily reconciled.

8. Before this is attempted, however, an enquiry should be made into the family of King Vakhtang I. According to both the early part (HVG) and the latter part of Juansher, that sovereign left three sons: Dach'i (Darch'i or Darch'il), from his first marriage with the Sassanid princess Balendukht (who died at childbirth), and, from his second marriage, with the Imperial relative Helena, Leo (Leon) and Mithridates (Mihrdat).<sup>62</sup> Since the eldest son was to succeed him, Vakhtang, before he died, appanaged his younger sons in western Iberia by creating for them a State composed of the Duchies of Cholarzene and Odzrkhe and of the western part of the Duchy of Tsunda. They were not given these lands merely in appanage, but were placed as suzerains over the local dukes — who acted as guardians in their minority — and were styled 'Arch-dukes,' while remaining, in turn, under the suzerainty of their half-brother, the King of Iberia. After the death of Leo, however, King Dach'i (who, for all the restrictions that may have been imposed upon his exercise of the royal power after 522, was an energetic sovereign<sup>63</sup>) not only constrained Mithridates to exchange the part of Cholarzene that bordered on the Empire for Javakhet'i (eastern moiety of Tsunda), but even reduced him to

<sup>61</sup> Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.28.20-21; cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 294; Vasiliev, *Justin* 271; Javakšvili, *K'art. er. ist.* I 246-247; Allen, *History* 376-377; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 115; — all connect the abolition with the peace of 532, although there is absolutely nothing in what Procopius has to say about that peace that would justify this assumption: *supra* n. 57. The exchange of suzerainty over Iberia, implied in that treaty, can have nothing to do with the abolition of the Iberian Monarchy. See also *supra* n. 47 for the occasional shortcomings in Procopius's treatment of things Caucasian; *infra* at n. 71 for what must have caused his error.

<sup>62</sup> HVG 178, 185, 199, 203; Juansher 204, 205; — there were also: a daughter by the first marriage, and two by the second. By the latter marriage, there were actually three sons: HVG 199; but one of them must have died young and is nowhere again mentioned. It has been assumed by, e.g., Markwart, *Streifzüge* 431; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 170 and n. 3. that the Iberian prince Peranius, who was a general in the Roman service, was a son of King Vaxtang-Γουργένης. Actually the words of Procopius that the King ἔφυγε, τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπαρόμενος, ὧν δὲ Περάνιος ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἦν (*Bell. pers.* 1.12.11) imply rather that Peranius was the eldest of his brothers. HVG mentions, 151, 159, Vaxtang's cousins Mihran or Mirian and Gregory, lords of Rust'avi, descendants of Mirian III's son Rev. It is tempting to suppose that Περάνιος is a corruption of *Mihran/Mirian*; while the use of 'brother' for 'cousin' is usual enough and requires no comment.

<sup>63</sup> Juansher 184-185: he was rebuilding Iberia after the Iranian devastations. For his missionary activity, see *infra* at n. 68.

the position of one of the dukes.<sup>64</sup> Thereafter the younger branch of the royal house, the family of Leo and Mithridates, bore the style of Princes of Cholarzene and Javakhet'i.<sup>65</sup> The reason for the King's action must have been, as will be seen, the Romanophile orientation of the sons of Helena.

While the younger branch of the dynasty was appanaged in the western provinces of the kingdom, the elder, royal, branch resided in the easternmost province of Kakhetia. That province, with its chief fortress of Ujarma,<sup>66</sup> had constituted the royal demesne from the days of King St Mirian III.<sup>67</sup> Its mountainous regions were the object of a special missionary effort of King Dach'i.<sup>68</sup> That King, moreover, is given in the *Royal List* the territorial epithet *Ujarmeli*, i. e., Lord of Ujarma,<sup>69</sup> which can only mean that he had made that castle his chief residence. And, finally, in recounting the abolition of the monarchy, Juansher states that the sons of the last King 'remained in the mountainous regions of Kakhetia';<sup>70</sup> the same verb is used by Juansher, in that text, of the younger branch remaining in its appanage of Cholarzene; and this can signify only that the royal family had resided in its demesne even before the abolition. All this leads one to the conclusion that, while Tiflis and perhaps Inner Iberia appeared kingless and under the rule of Iranian viceroys, assisted by local dignitaries, the Kings of Iberia, Vakhtang Gorgasal's successors, were, after the Iranian and aristocratic victory of 522, prevented by the victors from the exercise of their sovereign power in the capital city, and perhaps the kingdom's central province, and were relegated, though retaining in a more or less titular capacity their royal dignity, to their demesne of Kakhetia. This was not yet an abolition of the monarchy, but an important step towards it; this step must have been mistaken by Procopius for the abolition itself.<sup>71</sup>

9. Before the abolition, however, the succession and chronology of the last Chosroid kings, as found in Juansher, should be examined. Vakhtang I Gor-

<sup>64</sup> HGV 203-Juansher 205: cf. V at n. 117; *infra* II n. 19.

<sup>65</sup> V at n. 119.

<sup>66</sup> Ujarma Castle was built, according to Leont. Mrov. 59, by King Asp'agur (i.e., Aspacures) in the third century. A great royal residence (cf. the following n.), it soon prompted the growth of a city round it, which, in the following century, was next in importance to the old capital of Mc'xet'a: *ibid.* 128; cf. Javakšvili, *K'art' er. ist.* II 308.

<sup>67</sup> St Mirian appanaged his elder son Rev in Kakhetia and Kuxet'i with residence at Ujarma: Leont. Mrov. 71, 126; — Varaz-Bak'ar or Aspacures returned to the valley of Kakhetia: *ibid.* 136; — the royal house remained in Kakhetia after the Iranian capture of King Mithridates IV: *ibid.* 138; — King Vaxtang I resided at Ujarma and enlarged it: HVG 185, 199, 200, 201, 202.

<sup>68</sup> Juansher 205

<sup>69</sup> *Roy. List* II 62.

<sup>70</sup> Juansher 217 (*infra* n. 114).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *supra* at n. 61.

gasal was succeeded by his son Dach'i (*regn.* 12 years), he was followed by his son Bacurius (Bakur) II (*regn.* 13 years); he, by his son Pharasmanes (P'arsman) V (*regn.* 14 years);<sup>72</sup> he, by his brother's son Pharasmanes VI (the length of whose reign is not given);<sup>73</sup> and the latter, by his son Bacurius III, a contemporary of the Great King Hormizd (IV: 579-590).<sup>74</sup> The sequence of 12, 13, and 14 years may, indeed, appear suspicious, though by no means impossible. It can be supposed that only the sum total of the regnal years of the three monarchs (39) was remembered and later distributed in the above sequence. Assuming, however, this indication to be correct, and adding 39 to 522, the presumed death-date of Vakhtang I, we arrive at 561 for the death-date of Pharasmanes V.<sup>75</sup> Now, Juansher, in effect, gives in this connexion a rare direct chronological datum, when he states that 'from the reign of King Mirian [the first Christian King] to the reign of the second Pharasmanes [*scil.* Pharasmanes VI, as successor of Pharasmanes V], 200 years elapsed.'<sup>76</sup> But what are the dates of Mirian III?

To this question, another series of chronological indications of Georgian historical writings can give an answer. In both the *Conversion of Iberia* and Leontius of Ruisi's *History of the Kings of Iberia* (dating from the seventh and the eighth century, respectively) we find the statement that St Nino, the illuminatrix of Iberia, died A.M. 5838, in the year 338 'after the Ascension,' in the 15th (according to the former source) or the 14th (according to the latter) year after her arrival in Iberia.<sup>77</sup> The date 'after the Ascension of Christ' (*K'ristes a[ġ]maġlebi'a*) is also found at the beginning of the *Conversion of Iberia*, which begins: 'It was in the days of the Emperor (*lit.* 'King')

<sup>72</sup> Juanšer 204-205, 206, 206-207; cf. *Roy. List II* (no chronological evidence). The lengths of these three reigns are found in the oldest codex of the Georgian Annals, A. It is to be regretted that the latest editor of the Annals, Q, should have omitted these indications from the text and relegated them to the notes: Q I 205, 206, 207.

<sup>73</sup> Juanšer 207-215.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 216-217. For the confusion in connexion with the text relative to the reign of Bacurius III, see II Appendix A II (6). For Hormizd IV: Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 441-444.

<sup>75</sup> Although round figures, especially regnal years, tend to exceed the actual duration of time they approximately indicate (Toumanoff, *Chronology* 79), the concordance of chronological indications in the present case seems to exclude all vagueness. As will be seen, A.D. 522 + 39 indeed equals A.D. 561.

<sup>76</sup> Juanšer 215. This period of 200 years seems, according to the plain sense of the phrase above, to extend from the reign of Mirian III, i.e., from the end of it: the King's death-date, to the beginning of the reign of Pharasmanes VI, i.e., to his accession: the death-date of Pharasmanes V.

<sup>77</sup> *Conv. Iber.* 574; Leont. Mrov. 127. The thirteenth-century Armenian adaptation of the Georgian Annals, *Chron. armén.* 87-88 has: the fifteenth year after the arrival, the year 'after the Ascension' 332, A.M. 5832.

Constantine; in the 310th year after the Ascension of Christ.<sup>78</sup> It goes on to say, a little later, that 'in the tenth year after that time' ( $310 + 10 = 320$ ), the Empress Helena journeyed to Jerusalem in search of the True Cross.<sup>79</sup> Since Constantine died in 337 and his mother's pilgrimage took place probably soon after the defeat of Licinius, in 324, it must be inferred that the date 'after the Ascension' cannot mean what the plain meaning of this expression suggests, namely, that the Empress's journey occurred c. 353.<sup>80</sup> It is to be assumed, therefore, that this is a curious locution for a date 'after the Nativity'. The error of some five years, between the real date of that trip (c. 324/325) and the date given in the *Conversion of Iberia* (320), is negligible. Now, if the year 338 'after the Ascension' = the year of Grace 338, how can this correspond to the *Annus mundi* 5838? A.M. 5838, according to the Byzantine Era, = A.D. 330; according to the Alexandrian Era, = A. D. 346;<sup>81</sup> according to the Georgian Era, = A. D. 234.<sup>82</sup> In fact, it is only in accordance with the Era of Sextus Julius Africanus<sup>83</sup> and also that of Hippolytus of Rome<sup>84</sup> that A.M. 5838 = A.D. 338/9. It seems obvious that here, as in the Hadishi Gospels of 897 and in the ninth-century *Life of St Nino*<sup>85</sup> (which work has, otherwise, little independent worth), the old mystical theory, which placed the Incarnation in the middle of the sixth millennium after the Creation, that is, which dated the Creation, with Africanus and Hippolytus, as of 5500/1 B. C., is accepted by our authors.<sup>86</sup>

Both sources agree that St Nino began her preaching in Iberia in the fourth year after her arrival there.<sup>87</sup> If she died in the 15th year after her arrival, she must have begun her apostolate in 324; if in the 14th year, then in 325.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Conv. Iber.* 571.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 571-572.

<sup>80</sup> Assuming, with the men of the time, Our Lord's birth-date to be A.D. 1. Javakishvili, *K'art. er. ist.* 1347, obtains the date 344. For the odd substitution of 'from the Ascension' for 'from the Nativity,' see also M. and J.O. Wardrop, 'Life of St Nino,' SBE 5 1 (1903) 65 n 1.

<sup>81</sup> Grumel, *Chronologie* 240-241; DACL 5 350-384; Taqaishvili, *Chronology* 9. Grumel is followed here in that by 'Alexandrian Era' that of Panodorus is understood.

<sup>82</sup> Grumel, *op. cit.* 151-153; Taqaishvili, *op. cit.* (not cited by Grumel).

<sup>83</sup> Grumel, *op. cit.* 22-24, 30, 219.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* 6-17, 30, 219

<sup>85</sup> Taqaishvili, *op. cit.* 9-10, 26-27; *Vit. Nin.* 4.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Grumel, *op. cit.* 2-4, 155; for the Era of Annianus, another 'Alexandrian Era,' see DACL *loc. cit.*; Grumel 92-94.

<sup>87</sup> *Conv. Iber.* 372; Leont. Mrov. 95: three years passed before Nino began preaching.

<sup>88</sup> These dates come closer to the Palestinian journey of the Empress Helena, which appears as a synchronism for the arrival of St Nino in Iberia, than does the date 320. The *Vit. Nin.* 4 dates this arrival as 14 years after A.D. 311 ('baptism' of Constantine).

And she must have begun to preach in 327 or 328. In the 6th year, she converted the Queen of Iberia; and in the 7th, after a miracle wrought by God, the King.<sup>89</sup> The texts, however, do not specify whether the computation be from the arrival or from the beginning of the apostolate; so the dates of the two conversions can be either 329 and 330 or 330 and 331, or else 332 and 333 or 333 and 334. Another series of chronological indications support the second interpretation. Both Leontius and another source, the *Life of St Nino*, provide us with two dates, giving the days of the week and of the month, but no years. The miracle which caused the King's conversion occurred during the royal hunt on Saturday, 20 July,<sup>90</sup> Then, having sent to the Emperor Constantine for priests and having subsequently welcomed them to Iberia, King Mirian III, his family, the princes of the realm, and the people were baptized, and crosses were made of a sacred tree of Georgian paganism, which was felled on Friday 25 March, and were erected on 7 May. Shortly afterwards, on the Wednesday after Pentecost, another miracle took place.<sup>91</sup> Whatever the later elaborations on the original theme of the Conversion,<sup>92</sup> one may be certain that these two dates — Saturday, 20 July, and Friday, 25 March — were carefully preserved through whatever redactions these two historical works may have passed. Now it so happened that Saturday fell on 20 July in the year 334, and Friday on 25 March in 337; Easter in the latter year falling on 3 April, Pentecost occurred on 22 May.<sup>93</sup> The miracle which converted the King was a sudden darkness at noon;<sup>94</sup> and one is tempted to identify it with the total eclipse of the sun which may have been observable in Caucasia and which took place on Wednesday 17 July 334.<sup>95</sup> Was the difference of three days (between 17 and 20 July) one between the eclipse and the King's announced

<sup>89</sup> *Conv. Iber.* 572; *Leont. Mrov.* 105, 108-111.

<sup>90</sup> *Leont. Mrov.* 108 (here, A is, for a change, in error, having, through the substitution of l by n, 'June' instead of 'July': *ivnissa* for *ivlissa*); *Vit. Nin.* 16-17. The word 'Saturday' and much of the subsequent passage are lost with a missing folio of the tenth-century Šatberdi Collection, but are found in the fourteenth-century Čeliši Collection.

<sup>91</sup> *Leont. Mrov.* 120-122; *Vit. Nin.* 32-39.

<sup>92</sup> The second miracle just mentioned — the apparition of a luminous cross in the sky following the erection of the crosses by St Nino — is an obvious adaptation of the story of a similar event in Jerusalem in 351: Tarchnišvili, *Sources arméno-géorgiennes* 37; even the raising of the crosses appears to have been a later addition to the primitive narrative: *ibid.* 34-37. Yet the felling of the sacred tree is doubtless an authentic detail. Many of the details of the entire story were inspired by the pre-Christian pillar-worship and tree-worship which appear to have characterized Georgian paganism: Tseretheli, *Elements* 58-62; Karst, *Mythologie* 157-167.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Grumel, *Chronologie* 241, 310, 313.

<sup>94</sup> Ps. Moses 2.86, tells a similar story in this connexion.

<sup>95</sup> Grumel, *Chronologie* 459.

decision to become a Christian? Or had his experience during the hunt nothing to do with the eclipse? At all events, from this accumulated evidence, it becomes obvious that St Mirian III became converted on 20 July 334; that St Nino, therefore, began her preaching in Iberia in 328; that she arrived there in 324; and that she died in 338, in the fifteenth year after her arrival. Although the King was converted in 334, he was baptized, and Iberia officially adopted Christianity, only in 337; and the distance between the two dates is explicable in the light of the negotiations which, as reported by the sources, were meantime carried on between Iberia and the Empire regarding the sending of priests, and also of the time needed for them to arrive in Iberia. In HVG, there is a reference to the consecration of the Bishop of Iberia, following the Conversion, at Antioch, because a Roman-Iranian war made it impossible for him to get his consecration at Constantinople.<sup>96</sup> This seems to refer to the war begun by Constantine in 337,<sup>97</sup> and a further confirmation of the date established for the Conversion of Iberia. Finally, Leontius states that King Mirian III died in the 25th year after the Conversion,<sup>98</sup> i.e., in  $(337 + 24 =) 361$ . And this date is exactly 200 years earlier than that of the death of Pharasmanes V and of the accession of Pharasmanes VI. This inner concordance of the chronological data of four different historical works (five, if HVG be counted as distinct from Juansher) not only shows their basic reliability, but also fully bears out the date 522 for the flight and the subsequent death of King Vaxtang I Gorgasal,<sup>99</sup> as well as the regnal years of his three immediate successors. From the circumstances accompanying the death of Bacurius III, it will become

<sup>96</sup> HVG 197.

<sup>97</sup> Cf Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 130. — The reference of Leont. Mrov. 69-70, 95 to a war on the Empire by Iran, in which Mirian took part and which ended by a Roman victory, seems to be one to the war of the Great King Narses and the Emperor Diocletian, the conclusion of which in the treaty of Nisibis of 298 saw the passing of Iberia to Roman suzerainty: cf. II at n. 5. As a vassal of Iran, prior to this, Iberia may have participated in that war. The error of ascribing the participation in it to Mirian, and to Constantine, as is done by Leont. Mrov., is perhaps not difficult to explain. The passing of Iberia under the political control of Rome in 298 could easily be confused with its passing, with the Conversion, in 337, under the meta-political aegis of the Christian Empire. True enough, Roman-Iranian hostilities began before the declaration of war by Constantine in 337: the Iranians interfered in Armenian affairs already in 334, if not in 333: Stein, *loc. cit.* But it is difficult to think that Mirian, already converted to Christianity in 334, should have taken part in these hostilities on the Iranian side.

<sup>98</sup> Leont. Mrov. 129.

<sup>99</sup> HVG 159 states that 'from King Mirian to King Vaxtang ... 157 years elapsed.' Since this cannot apply to the end of either reign, i.e., the deaths of the two kings, it must apply to their accession, though placed in the course of the History and not at the beginning of it. If true, the date of the accession of St Mirian III must be  $(c. 446 - 157 =) c. 289$ .



clear that it took place in 579/581. In this way, the following chronological table of the Kings of Iberia from Vakhtang I to Bacurius III is obtained:

Vakhtang I Gorgasal, c. 446-522

Dach'i, 522-534

Bacurius II, 534-547

Pharasmanes V, 547-561

Pharasmanes VI, 561-?

Bacurius III, ?-579/581.

10. It was under Pharasmanes V (547-561) that Iberia again became involved in a Roman-Iranian conflict. Juansher records that the Iranians devastated the country and tightened their control over it, while the Romans were attacked by enemies in the West and so could not come to the aid of Iberia. Thereafter, according to him, the House of Dach'i (the royal branch) was under the suzerainty of Iran and the House of Mithridates (the younger branch) was under that of the Empire.<sup>100</sup> The invasion and the tightening of control mentioned by our historian are obviously the Iberian impressions of the Lazic War of 549-557 (part of the Second Persian War of Justinian and Chosroes I); the attack of the western enemies of the Empire is an obvious reference to the war of Totila of 542-554; and the passing of the younger branch of the dynasty to Roman allegiance doubtless resulted from the Iranian renunciation of all claims to Western Georgia in the peace of 561.<sup>101</sup> These synchronisms constitute an additional proof that the chronology of the last Chosroid kings adopted in this Study is exact. Likewise, it becomes clear that the descendants of Vakhtang I and his Byzantine wife (the younger branch) pursued a definitely pro-Roman policy; this may explain why King Dach'i, as an Iranian vassal, had been obliged to wrest from them those lands which lay too close to the Imperial frontier.<sup>102</sup>

11. The peace of 561, concluded for fifty years at the end of the Second Persian War, lasted only three years longer than that of 532, which terminated the First Persian War; and the Romanophile younger branch of the Chosroid

<sup>100</sup> Juansher 206-207.

<sup>101</sup> Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 564-611, 503-521; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 89-123, 229-286. — With the passing of the younger branch of the Chosroids under Roman suzerainty, a situation similar to that caused in 370-378 by the venture of the Emperor Valens was created: cf. *supra* n. 4. — Redaction V of the Georgian Annals, unaware of the true chronology of the events narrated by Juansher, inserted into its recension of these (along with other passages) a notice on the Lazic War of Justinian and another on the Second Council of Constantinople (553), as though in the reign of Pharasmanes VI, which began only in 561; cf. my *Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.* 177-178.

<sup>102</sup> *Supra* § 8.

house appears to have had a share in bringing about still another conflict between the two empires. The next generation of this branch was represented by Mithridates's nephew and Leo's son, Guaram. The discovery and publication of two oldest known codices of the Georgian Royal Annals (containing the History of Juansher), A and C,<sup>103</sup> is as important for the genealogy of his house, the Guaramids, as it is for that of their successors, the Bagratids.<sup>104</sup> For, unlike the less ancient versions of the Annals which make of Guaram the son of a *daughter* of King Vakhtang, these oldest variants show him to have been — and the historical context fully bears this out — a son of that monarch's second son.<sup>105</sup> It was he who was called upon to prove the Romanophile sentiments of his house. In 572, an anti-Iranian revolt flared up in Armenia; a tyrannical viceroy was assassinated by the Mamikonid princes; and the insurgents appealed to the Empire for aid.<sup>106</sup> At the same time, another anti-

<sup>103</sup> *Introd.* at nn. 34-35.

<sup>104</sup> See III/III.

<sup>105</sup> In the less ancient redactions of the Annals, M and the codd. of V, the text of Juansher (*infra* II § 14 n. 4) calls Guaram *disculi* ('sister's son') of Mithridates, whereas in A and C this text refers to him as *jmisculi* ('brother's son'). In C this word was later altered to *disculi*: Q I 218. For the origin of the less ancient version: *infra* Excursus A. The earlier version is the correct one, because it is in keeping with the historical context. As will be seen (II § 14), the Emperor was asked in 588 to appoint a King of Iberia *nat'esavi'agan mep'-ei'a k'art'lisat'a*. The first word here is in the genitive plural (with a postposition) and means simply 'of the house' or 'of the family'; indeed in ancient texts, the sing. of this word often has the significance of 'family' or 'house' as well as of 'generation,' 'race': Javaxišvili, *Gos. stroj* 50; Marr and Brière, *Langue* 637 s.v. *i'es*; Molitor, *Altgeorg. Glossar* 135; *Mon. iber. ant.* 119. In response to this request, the Emperor appointed (not indeed as a king but as a presiding prince) Guaram, of the Romanophile branch of Cholarzene-Javaxet'i, even though the elder, formerly royal, branch of the Chosroid Dynasty still flourished in Kakhetia. Obviously, only an agnate of the royal house could be considered a member of it, especially when that house was as yet far from extinction. Indeed, Juansher shows elsewhere Guaram to have been among those 'of the house of the faithful King Mirian' (*ramet'u nat'esavni moremanisa mirian mep'isani*: 222). In the text under discussion, Guaram's nephew-ship with regard to Mithridates, rather than his sonship with regard to Leo, is indicated, because it was the former whom he succeeded as head of the younger branch of the Chosroids. — Vaxtang I married his first wife c. 458, so that Dač'i, the eldest son, can easily have been born c. 460 (Queen Balenduxt died after giving birth to him and his sister: HVG 178), though from the context it appears that he was born during Vaxtang's revolt against Iran in 482-484. On the other hand, Vaxtang's two sons by the second wife appear to have been under age in 522 (*supra* at n. 64). They must have been born in the first decade of the sixth century (when Vaxtang was already over sixty). It is not surprising, therefore, that Bacurius III, Dač'i's great-great-grandson, and Guaram, Dač'i's half-nephew, should have been contemporaries.

<sup>106</sup> Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart 1919) 21-25; Grousset, *Histoire* 242-251. The Empire was busy consolidating pro-Roman elements in Iberia already in 570: Stein 21-23.

Iranian insurrection broke out in Iberia. The Georgian sources are silent regarding it, but we know of it from Theophanes of Byzantium, who records that, in connexion with the Armenian uprising, 'the Iberians, under the leadership of Gorgenes went over to the Romans'; and from John of Ephesus, we learn that this second Gorgenes had to flee to the Empire, like the first, upon the failure of his pro-Roman revolt.<sup>107</sup> We may suspect that this insurrection, unrecorded by the legitimist Juansher, was one in which the royal house relegated to Kakhetia did not participate. It is highly probable, however, that it was the pro-Roman younger branch of the Chosroids that led the revolt and that, consequently, the Gorgenes of the Byzantines was none other than Guaram of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i.<sup>108</sup> Like Justin I, in the case of the first Gurgenes (Vakhtang-Gorgasal), Justin II now heeded the second (Gorgenes-Guaram), and went further still. His support of the Caucasian insurgents, together with other events, provoked another war with Iran, which was terminated only two decades later.<sup>109</sup> At the outbreak of this war, Iberia, with the probable exception of Kakhetia, must have sided with the Empire, for we learn from an Armenian source that the Iranians made an unsuccessful attack upon it.<sup>110</sup> But, already by 575, the Iranians had consolidated their position in Persarmenia and, undoubtedly, soon afterwards in Iberia as well.<sup>111</sup>

In the midst of the war Chosroes I died and was succeeded by Hormizd IV (579). The new Great King dropped the peace negotiations that had been going on between the two empires, in spite of the offer of the government of Tiberius II to give up Iberia and Persarmenia; in 581, another attempt to terminate the war failed.<sup>112</sup> Thus the hostilities continued, with Iran rather than Rome in control of Iberia and Armenia, until the beginning of Maurice's counter-offensive in 582.<sup>113</sup> It was during this time that Bacurius III of Iberia

<sup>107</sup> Theoph. Byz. 271: 'Ἀπέστησαν δὲ παραντίκα καὶ Ἰβήρες, καὶ προσεχώρησαν Ῥωμαίοις, Γοργένουσ αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύοντος. Ἦν δὲ τῶν Ἰβήρων τότε ἡ Τίφλις μητρόπολις. The last sentence seems to have been added by way of general information rather than as an indication that Tiflis was in the hands of the insurgents. — John of Ephesus, *Eccl. Hist.* 6.11 (Görgōnīs).

<sup>108</sup> Cf. *infra* II at n. 8; Excursus B.

<sup>109</sup> For this war: Stein, *Studien* 38-55, 58-102; Grousset, *Histoire* 244-251; C. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le Monde Oriental de 395 à 1081* (Paris 1944) 128-131.

<sup>110</sup> Sebēos 2 (interpolated list of the Iranian viceroys of Armenia); cf. Stein, *Studien* 39; Grousset, *Histoire* 245.

<sup>111</sup> Grousset, *op. cit.* 246-247: the defeat of the Great King in Melitene in no way weakened his hold on Iranian Armenia, as is borne out by the unbroken list of his viceroys in that country. It was after that event that Chosroes must have organized a northern diversion which resulted in the restoration of his suzerainty in Iberia: Stein, *Studien* 65 and n. 15 (85).

<sup>112</sup> Stein, *Studien* 89-90, 96-97; Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 443.

<sup>113</sup> Stein, *op. cit.* 97 (the victory at Constantina). For the Iranian control of Armenia and Iberia: *supra* at n. 111.

died and the new Great King, Hormizd IV, no doubt partly as a reprisal for the recent insurrection, deprived Iberia of her Crown. Juansher describes the event in the following terms:

And Bacurius died and left his small children; and they could not hold the royal power. Then the Great King Hormizd gave Albania to his son whose name was Khusrō Abharvēr. He came and stayed at Bardavi. And he began negotiations with the Iberian dukes; he promised to them great bounties and, by way of blandishment, confirmed their duchies as allods. And the dukes rose and all paid tribute to Khusrō Abharvēr. And the children of Bacurius remained in the mountainous regions of Kakhetia, while the branch of Mithridates, son of Vakhtang, remained in the rocks of Cholarzene. The rest of Iberia, Armenia, and Vaspurakan were held by the Iranians who waged war on the Byzantines.<sup>114</sup>

The mention of Hormizd IV (579-590) and the reference, in the closing sentence, to the hostilities resumed upon his accession as well as to the control of Armenia and Iberia before the counter-offensive of Maurice (i.e., between 580 and 582) enable us to put the death of Bacurius III and the abolition of the Iberian Monarchy between 579 and 580, more likely in the latter year.

12. The course of events described in the above passage is clear. Exactly as in Armenia, the abolition of the kingship in Iberia could be achieved by the Great King only with the co-operation of the local dynastic aristocracy which was anxious to attain a complete independence of the local Crown. To this goal, the old royal claim to control the succession to ducal fiefs had unquestionably been one of the few remaining hindrances.<sup>115</sup> The minority of the sons of Bacurius III provided the great vassals with an opportunity, and they,

<sup>114</sup> Juansher 217: და მოკჳდა ბაკურ, და დარჩეს შვილნი მისნი წჳრილნი, და აგერ იპყრობდეს მეფობასა. მაშინ მეფემან სპარსთამან ურმიზდ მისცა ძესა თჳსსა რანი და მოვარგანი, რომელსა ერქუა ქასრე ამბარგენი. მოვიდა და დაჯდა ბარდავს, და უწყო სრახვად ქართველთა ერისთავთა: ადუთქუა კეთილი დიდი, და დაუწერა ხაერისთლთა მამული ლიქნითა. და გაადგეს ერისთავთა და თჳსთჳსად წარცხა მისცემდეს ქასრე ამბარგენსა. და შვილნი ბაკურიისნი დარჩეს მთელესთა კახეთისა; და ნათესავნი მირდატიისნი, ვაზტანგის ძისანი, დარჩეს კლდეთა შინა კლარჯეთისათა. სხუა ყოველი ქართლი, სომხითი და ახლურაგანი დაიპყრეს სპარსთა და ჰბრძოდეს ბერძენთა. — Q (a) has: რომელნი — (b) has: the M ერისთავთა ქართლისათა. — (c) adds: მათთა after ხაერისთლთა and შვილითი-შვილამდე, და ესრეთ წარიბირნა between მამული (emended: მამულობა) and ლიქნითა. — (d) has: the M განდგეს ერისთავნი — (e) has: the M მთელესთ. — (f) adds: the M რომელნი მთავრობდეს კლარჯეთს და ჯავახეთს, იგინი.

<sup>115</sup> The above text of Juansher and another one, *infra* II § 14, demonstrate that the Crown claimed the right to control the succession to the dukedoms. The same control of the succession of the *nazarark* obtained in Armenia: I at nn. 204-205, 254-256.

precisely like the Armenian Princes a century earlier, came to an understanding with Iran and transferred their allegiance from their lawful king to the (future) Great King.<sup>116</sup> With this, the Iberian Crown fell into abeyance and the royal house found itself represented by two princely branches: of Kakhetia<sup>117</sup> and of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i.

## II. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPATE OF IBERIA

13. With the disappearance of the institution of the monarchy from Iberia, that country became *de facto* a province of the Iranian empire. Whatever practical autonomy Iberia had enjoyed was implied in the existence of the Crown; this was now sacrificed to the ambition of the great houses. As a result, the Crown was replaced by Iranian officialdom. The same pattern had been followed in Armenia; and, exactly like their Armenian counterparts, the Iberian Princes were soon disappointed in the transaction.<sup>1</sup> Detailed information is lacking regarding the Iranian administration of Iberia. It seems certain, however, that the Mazdaizing efforts of the Great King, which had made his overlordship obnoxious while Iberia still had her kings,<sup>2</sup> must not have diminished when she became divided between various princes under the Iranian emperor's direct suzerainty. The reign of Hormizd IV, moreover, was marked by heavy fiscal measures directed against the aristocracy;<sup>3</sup> and we may be certain that his Iberian vassals were not exempt from the general rule. At all events, the disaffection of the Iberian upper class with Iranian rule soon made itself felt.

14. As always in Caucasia, it was a combination of local princes and neighbouring empires that decided the issue. The Byzantine counter-offensive in the war with Iran was begun by Maurice even before his accession as Emperor in August 582. Simultaneously, the eastern frontier of the Sassanid realm be-

<sup>116</sup> Javakšvili, *Gos. stroj* 61, 69-70. The historian Sumbat (338) states that 'from the time when the descendants of Gorgasal lost the kingship until these [*scil.* the Bagratids], the power was held by the nobles.'

<sup>117</sup> Juanšer 217, 218: cf. *supra* § 11, text relating the abolition of the monarchy; *infra* § 14, text, and n. 11.

<sup>1</sup> It was the Mazdaizing policy of Yazdgard II that caused the disaffection in Armenia and led to the revolt headed by Vardan II, Prince of the Mamikonids: Grousset, *Histoire* 189-226.

<sup>2</sup> The Mazdaizing efforts of the Court of Ctesiphon were directed to Iberia soon after the partition of Armenia in 387 (V at nn. 99-109). At the turn of the sixth century, Vaxtang I Gorgasal had to sustain a renewed attack of Mazdaism: *supra* § 6, 7 at n. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 441-444; N. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantijska i Iran na rubeže VI i VII vekov* (Moscow/Leningrad 1946) 84-86.

came the target of a Turkish attack. It was then that the Iranian difficulties decided the Iberian Princes to exchange their pro-Iranian for a pro-Roman policy. This is how Juansher narrates the events which followed the abolition of the Iberian Monarchy:

After a few years, great troubles arose among the Iranians, for the King of the Turks entered into Iran. The Byzantines came and harassed the Iranians in Mesopotamia and, penetrating into Iran, began to devastate it. Then Khusrō Abharvēr left Albania and Iberia and went to the aid of his father. While the Iranians were thus occupied, all the dukes of Iberia — of the Upper and of the Lower Country — concerted together and dispatched an ambassador to the Emperor asking him to place a king over them from the House of the Kings of Iberia, but leaving them as dukes, one and all, undisturbed in their duchies. Caesar thereupon fulfilled their wish. And he gave to them the son of the brother of Mithridates, Vakhtang's son by the Byzantine princess, who was named Guaram and who was Prince of Cholarzene and Javakhet'i. Caesar conferred upon this Guaram the dignity of Curopalate and sent him to Mts'khet'a.<sup>4</sup>

The narrative of Juansher is so exact and so rich in synchronisms that it is possible to establish that the restoration of autonomy in Iberia under the Roman aegis by the Emperor Maurice took place at the end of the year 588.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Juansher 217-218 (continuation of the text quoted in I § 11): შემდგომად ამისა მცირედთა წელთა იქმნეს შფოთნი დიდნი სპარსთა<sup>a</sup> შინა, რამეთუ შემოვიდა<sup>b</sup> თურქთა მეფე სპარსეთს შინა; მოვიდეს ბერძენნი, და<sup>c</sup> ეწყუნეს სპარსთა შუამდინარესა,<sup>d</sup> და შევიდეს სპარსეთს;<sup>e</sup> იწყეს ტყუენვად სპარსეთისა. მაშინ ქასრე ამბარგეზმან დაუტევა რანი და<sup>f</sup> ქართლი, და წარვიდა შეელად მამისა თახისა. ესრეთ რა უცალო იქმნეს<sup>g</sup> სპარსნი,<sup>h</sup> შეითქუნეს ყოველნი ერისთავნი ქართლისანი, ზემონი და ქუემონი, წარგზავნეს მოციქული წინაშე ბერძენთა მეფისა, და ითხოვეს, რათა უჩინოეს მეფე ნათესავთაგან მეფეთა ქართლისათა,<sup>i</sup> რათა იყუნენ ერისთავად<sup>j</sup> თახ-თახად<sup>k</sup> საერისთავსა<sup>l</sup> შეუფავალბელად. მაშინ კეისარმან აღასრულა თხოვა მათი. და მოხცა<sup>m</sup> ძმისწული<sup>n</sup> მირდატისი, ვანტანგის ძისა, ბერძენთა მეფისა ასული[სა]<sup>o</sup>, რომელსა ერქუა გუარამ, რომელი მთავრობდა კლარჯეთს და ჯავახეთს. ამას გუარამს მოხცა კეისარმან კურაპალატობა, და წარმოგზავნა მცხეთას.

— Q (a) has: სპარსეთს found in C, which is, obviously, inspired by the same in the next phrase. — (b) has the C შევიდა. — (c) om: და. — (d) adds: აღტენს. — (e) adds: და. — (f) adds და. — (g) has: იქმნეს. — (h) adds: მაშინ. — (i) has: ერისთავნი იგი (j) has: თახ-თახსა. — (k) has (instead of this, as found in the two most ancient codd., A and C: საერისთავსა. — (l) adds: მეფედ, not in A. — (m) replaces A's important word by the დისწული ('sister's son') of less ancient codd. — (n) instead of the last three words has: ბერძენის ცოლისაგან. The editor's choice of (l) and (m) is particularly unfortunate, since it goes counter to the historical context.

<sup>5</sup> Between Autumn 588 and Spring 589, to be exact. For the chronology of this phase of the Roman-Iranian struggle, see Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice I* (Washington 1939). Accordingly, the Turkish invasion of Iran mentioned by Juansher began in 588 (Higgins 35-36). And the Roman Army thrice invaded that realm: once under Hera-



Thus Iberia, which had *de facto* lost her autonomy in 580, regained it within less than a decade. But she regained it in a reduced form, for, instead of being ruled by hereditary kings, she was now placed under princes appointed by the Emperor. This was no doubt in keeping with the autocratic and bureaucratic spirit of the Empire and of the Emperor Maurice himself.<sup>6</sup> More than that, by the treaty of 591, which ended the war begun two decades earlier, Maurice and Chosroes II (who had succeeded his father Hormizd IV<sup>5</sup>) agreed to partition Iberia — again — into two spheres of influence, with the line of demarcation passing at Tiflis.<sup>7</sup> This division, it will be seen, was however shortlived.

clius and twice while in mutiny against Maurice, i.e., in 586 and in the Summer and Autumn of 588 (Higgins 63-70, 32-33, 72). It was after these events and before the subsequent developments that the change of Iberia's political orientation and the appointment of Guaram took place. Juanšer then goes on to relate the following: (1) 219-220: Maurice sends a great sum of money to Guaram of Iberia for the purpose of inducing the Caucasian highlanders as well as the Iberian troops, to attack the Iranian empire from the north. This is the 'Kharzar' raid of Azerbaijan in the Spring (after April) of 589 (Higgins 38, 72). — (2) 220: Vahrām Čōbēn enters the scene, defeats the Turks. This, having taken place in July-August 588 (Higgins 35-36, 72), is given here by way of introducing the following. (Vahrām's expedition against the Roman West Georgian dependency of Suania, in 589, is omitted by our East Georgian historian: Higgins 36, 73). — (3) 220-221: Vahrām revolts against Hormizd IV (after August 14, 589: Higgins 36-38, 73). — (4) 221: Hormizd IV is deposed (February 6, 590: Higgins 26, 73). — (5) *ibid.*: the war between Vahrām and Chosroes II in which the latter is defeated and flees to the Roman Empire (February 28, 590 [defeat] and March 590 [flight]: Higgins 28-31, 73). — (6) *ibid.*: Chosroes is finally restored with Roman aid and concludes a treaty with Maurice. (The final defeat of Vahrām by Chosroes occurred before 1 October 591 and the treaty was concluded in the Spring of the same year: Higgins 42-54, 73).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 255-256, 260-261. In contrast with his attitude towards Armenia, however, Maurice was obliged by the remoteness of Iberia to be more liberal towards her than the Great King had been.

<sup>7</sup> Sebēos 2: Chosroes offered to cede to Maurice Iberia up to Tiflis. This may mean that Tiflis remained with the Iranians; but Juanšer 222 records that Guaram renewed the foundations of the cathedral of Tiflis, though this need not necessarily mean that the city was within his jurisdiction; in fact, since the Emperor sent him to the old capital of Mc'xet'a and not to Tiflis we may assume that the latter was indeed in Iranian hands. Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 251-253. — Juanšer 221 describes the treaty of 591 as follows: 'Then Maurice Caesar showed solicitude for the Iberians before Chosroes, saying: "Ever since the Iberians abandoned idolatry they have been under the authority of the Byzantines. But at one time, through your oppression, Iberia became corrupted; though you have no right to her. Now, by the will of God, since I and thou are in perfect amity, let Iberia be independent between us. I am the helper and protector of the Iberians and of all the Christians." Then the Great King heeded to Caesar and the Iberians became independent; and the Curopalate Guaram remained under the authority of the Byzantines.' The words 'independent between us,' as well as another statement of Juanšer (*infra* n. 11 and III n. 6) may refer to the temporary division of Iberia into spheres of influence. — It is interesting to note that, in the memories of the men of the day, Roman suzerainty dated, not from 65 B.C., but from the

It was, without a doubt, the Romanophile tendencies and activities of the younger branch of the Chosroid Dynasty that determined the Emperor's choice of Guaram for the Principate of Iberia, in preference to the former royal branch. And the fact that Guaram was *sent* by the Emperor to the old Iberian capital of Mts'khet'a bears out the identifying of Guaram with Gorgenes, who had led the revolt of 572 and then fled to the Empire.<sup>8</sup> Guaram was invested, upon accession, with the Roman dignity of Curopalate,<sup>9</sup> and his foreign policy continued the Romanophile line of his house. With the aid of the funds supplied by the Imperial government soon after his installation, Guaram organized, in the Spring of 589, a combined attack of Iberian and Caucasian highlander forces upon the northern frontier of the Iranian Realm.<sup>10</sup> According to our historian, his domestic policy was conciliatory; he did not press the old

moment Iberia became a member of the *pax christiana* and that from the Christian Caucasian point of view only that suzerainty was a natural one, Iranian overlordship being mere oppression (*mjlavreba*). The reference to Iberia's having become corrupted is no doubt an indication of the degree of success the Mazdaizing policy of the Great Kings must have had in that country (*supra* n. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *supra* I at n. 107. — It is probably in the light of the pro-Roman policy of the House of Cholarzene-Javaxet'i that we must seek to identify the 'King of Iberia' *Ζαυαυαγσός* or *Σαυαυαζός* who is reported by Theophanes, 476, to have come in 535 to pay his respects to Justinian and then to have returned to his realm and by Malalas, 633, to have been that Emperor's contemporary; cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge* 432. According to the chronology of the last Chosroids adopted in this Study, the King of Iberia at the time was Bacurius II (534-547). To consider *Σαυαυαζός*/*Ζαυαυαγσός* as another name for Bacurius is extremely difficult, especially in view of the fact that the royal house, more out of necessity than out of choice, was committed at the time to an Iranian orientation. It must be concluded, therefore, with Justi (*Namenbuch* 379) that the reference here is not to a King of Iberia, but to an Iberian dynast. That dynast must obviously have been more pro-Roman than the royal house. True enough, foreign sources are known to have accorded the royal title of Iberia to powerful potentates of subordinate rank (*supra* Introduction 1 and n. 6; *infra* III nn. 9, 30). Nevertheless the Imperial Chancellery was ever too well informed with regard to the Caucasian buffer States to confuse a King of Iberia with one of his vassals. If this was done, it must have been done deliberately; and we may expect that, if one who was not in fact a king was treated with royal honours at the Court of Constantinople, he must at least have had a claim to the succession, belonged to the royal dynasty, and become, in recompense for his friendship to the Empire, a Roman candidate to the throne of Iberia. All this points to the House of Cholarzene-Javaxet'i and makes one wonder whether perchance the two variants of the visitor's name might not be reducible to something like *Ζυαδα(ρ)ζός* disguising in an onomastic form the original Georgian phrase qualifying Mithridates of Cholarzene-Javaxet'i: *jma da(r)č'isi* = 'Da(r)č'i's brother.' — Stein's suggestion that the references to the above visit are mere reminiscences of the first Gurgenes's flight to the Empire (*Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 295 n. 1) is, due to the unproved assumption that that king came to Constantinople; cf. *supra* n. 55.

<sup>9</sup> Juanšer 218 (*supra* at n. 4); cf. *infra* § 15.

<sup>10</sup> Juanšer 219-220; cf. *supra* n. 5.

royal claim to control the ducal succession and he enjoyed the loyalty of the dukes as well as of the elder Chosroids of Kakhetia.<sup>11</sup>

15. The character of the institution of the Principate, or rule by presiding princes, which replaced in Iberia the abolished monarchy was determined by the social and political structure of the country. The salient feature of the Iberian polity was, it has been noted, the survival of the dynastic aristocracy congeneric with the Crown.<sup>12</sup> The events of 580 had two legal aspects: in the first place, the princes became immediate vassals of the Iranian emperor by transferring to him the allegiance they had hitherto given to the King of Iberia; and, in the second place, these immediate vassals of the Great King now shared the sovereign powers of the defunct (or dormant) Crown of Iberia (which, too, had once been placed under the suzerainty of Iran), or, rather, regained their own aboriginally inherent, 'polygenetic,' sovereign powers which that Crown, the embodiment of 'monogenetic' sovereignty, had reduced. Thus, *de jure*, Iberia remained autonomous, or split into several autonomies; but she was not so *de facto*, for she had exchanged a king for a viceroy of the Great King.<sup>13</sup>

While, after the passing of Vakhtang I, the Crown was still extant, though relegated to a semi-dormant state, the Iberian aristocracy appears to have already chosen a leader, for in the year 540/541 we hear of Gregory, *Manasaxlisi* of Iberia, next to the Iranian viceroy, at Tiflis and possibly also in Inner Iberia, whence the royal house seems to have withdrawn on the eve of its dispossession.<sup>14</sup> It is very likely that the dignitary in question was none other than the High Constable, *ex officio* Duke of Inner Iberia, the 'Second after the

<sup>11</sup> Juanšer 221: 'And he reigned well and in peace but he could not remove the dukes of Iberia from their duchies, because they had charters from the Great King and from the Emperor confirming them in their duchies. But they were obedient to the Curopalate Guaram.' The reference to the Great King and the Emperor, unless implying a chronological sequence, may be another reference to the initial division of Iberia after 591 (*supra* § 14). In spite of the division, Guaram must have exercised his suzerainty over the princes of the Iranian sphere of influence; Kakhetia was, obviously, a part of that sphere, and Juanšer, 219, after recording the appointment of Guaram, says: 'And the children of Bacurius, descendants of Dač'i the son of Vaxtang, to whom King Vaxtang had passed the crown, remained in Kakhetia. They held Kakhetia and Heret'i from the Iori and resided at Ujarma; and they were obedient to the Curopalate [A om.: Guaram]. — For Guaram I's coins. cf. *infra* Excursus B.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* § 5 and n. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Precisely the same situation is observable in the Armenia of the fifth century: cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 178-184 (for the abolition), 191, 289 (for the subsequent position of the princes). — The texts cited in § 11 and § 14 make it quite clear that it was the young Chosroes (II) who was entrusted with the government of both Iberia and Albania. Being of the imperial house of the Sassanids, he must have held the viceroyalty of these countries jointly with the royal dignity as a *marzpān-šahrdār*; cf. Christensen *Iran Sass.* 102-103, 136-137.

<sup>14</sup> *Supra* I § 7 and n. 60.

King' and the natural leader of the aristocracy, both under the feudal aspect of the military commander of all the dukes and under the dynasticist aspect, consequent upon it, of the greatest of all the princes,<sup>15</sup> for whom the archaic title of the pre-monarchical patriarchal dynasts of Iberia, forbears of the princely class,<sup>16</sup> must have been deliberately revived. When, in 588, Iberia became a vassal of the Roman Empire, she regained her autonomy *de facto*, for now her supreme ruler was one of her own princes: a *primus inter pares* presiding over the Emperor's immediate vassals. With this, the institution of the Principate of Iberia came into being: an office combining the functions of the High Constable (of which office, consequently, we hear nothing, with one exception, until the Bagratid restoration of the monarchy) with those of the viceroy of the country's imperial suzerain, and so an equivalent, on a dynasticist-feudal soil, of the Exarchates created by the same Maurice. Precisely the same development is observable in Armenia as well as in Albania and Lazica.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> I at nn. 143-150. — A similar situation obtained in Armenia under the weakened last Arsacids, when the government of the kingdom was in the hands of Manuel, Prince of the Mamikonids, hereditary High Constable of Armenia: Grousset, *Histoire* 154-162; II § 3 at n. 6.

<sup>16</sup> I at n. 121, and n. 128.

<sup>17</sup> Wesendonk has suggested, in *Zur georg. Geschichte* 132, that the name of the land of Samt'avro (*lit.* 'principality'), which was part of the fief of the High Constable of Iberia, was derived from its having been the demesne of the Presiding Princes; exactly as the neighbouring land of Saguramo must have been derived from the name of Gu(a)ram. — In Armenia, too, the home rule recognized by the Great King in 485 meant the conferment of the office of *marzpān* (viceroy) upon Vahan II, Prince of the Mamikonids and High Constable of Armenia: Grousset, *Histoire* 215-232. This home rule was, however, of short duration: already by 514, Iranian officials were again invested with the vicereignty of Armenia: *ibid.* 232-234. A century later, as a result of the victories of the Emperor Heraclius over the Sassanid empire, the local government of both the now enlarged Byzantine part and the diminished Iranian part of Armenia was entrusted to local princes. In the former, Mezezius II Gnuni was Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial troops c. 630, but he was followed by David Saharuni as Prince and Curopalate of Armenia from 635 to 638. In the Iranian part, Varaz-Tiroc II Bagratuni was *marzpān* in 628 until he passed to the Empire and was Prince-Curopalate of Byzantine Armenia: Grousset 282, 283, 285-286, 299. Then, with the Islamic conquest of the whole of Armenia the now reunited Armenian State was formally recognized as autonomous under the suzerainty of the Caliph, by the treaty of 653/654, concluded by Theodore Rštuni and the future Caliph Mu'āwīya I: *ibid.* 296-340; Laurent, *Arménie* 33-34. A continuous series of presiding princes, most often combining the duties of civil ruler with those of High Constable (*ibid.* 77), chosen from among the local dynasts, ruled thenceforth the Armenian State, wavering perpetually between their allegiance to the Empire and their submission to the Caliphate, until the Bagratid house monopolized the Principate of Armenia in the eighth century and converted it into a monarchy in the ninth: Grousset 341-379; Laurent, chaps. 4, 10 and Append. 4. 1: 'Les chefs indigènes de l'Arménie du VIIe au IXe siècle.' See also II n. 355, § 13.9, 27. 1, 2; V, § 17-18.

The holders of the Principate of Iberia are variously entitled in Georgian sources, 'Prince of Iberia,'<sup>18</sup> 'Arch-duke of Iberia,'<sup>19</sup> or 'Duke of Iberia.'<sup>20</sup> Most of them were additionally invested by the Court of Constantinople with various Roman dignities, exactly as was the case also with the Presiding Princes of the other kingless Caucasian lands, Armenia, Albania, and Lazica. The highest of these dignities was that of Curopalate, reserved for some Princes of Iberia and Armenia; the next, that of Patrician bestowed upon others among them as well as upon the Princes of Albania and Lazica. The holders of the Iberian Principate were more favoured by the Empire than those of the Armenian: while six out of the twenty-one Presiding Princes of Armenia were made Curopalates, eight out of the fourteen Presiding Princes of Iberia held that dignity, as well as eight more Iberian Bagratids, after the restoration of the monarchy in 888.<sup>21</sup> The dignity of Curopalate, connected at first, apparently, with certain aulic functions, was, from the time of Justinian I to that of the Comneni, one of the highest in the Eastern Empire, ranking next to Caesar and Nobilissimus and, like them, reserved usually for members of the Imperial family.<sup>22</sup> Its conferment upon various Caucasian dynasts is an im-

<sup>18</sup> *Mt'avar k'art'li* or *k'art'vel' mt'avar*, as well as in connexion with the verb *mt'avroba* ('to be prince'): Juanšer 223, 225, 228; Sumbat 341.

<sup>19</sup> *Erist'avt'-mt'avar*: Juanšer 222. This title, adopted by Guaram I's son Stephen I and recorded only in his case, among all the Princes of Iberia, may have been a reversal to the original title of his branch: *supra* I at n. 64. It can mean both 'prince of [*scil.* over] dukes' and 'arch-duke,' *mt'avar* being the equivalent of both *ἀρχων* and, in compound words *ἀρχι-* and *-αρχης*: I n. 132. It may, also, have been a variant of *erist'avt'-erist'av* ('duke of dukes'), which may or may not (it is not found in sources prior to Sumbat) have denoted the High Constable: I n. 144. The form *eris-mt'avar*, found in the *Mart. Abo*, 60, 62, 63, along with *erist'av* (*ibid.* 60, 61), and designating the Princes of the so-called Third Dynasty (*infra* III § 25, 27, 28, 29), is a survival of the other term's earlier variant (I n. 144) which may have been adopted by that dynasty of local, non-royal, princes as less offensive to the sensibilities of their *confrères* than *erist'avt'-mt'avar*, which it, nevertheless, resembled. In the *Mart. Abo*, 60, 61, the Presiding Prince Nerse is called interchangeably *eris-mt'avar* and *erist'av*; and in one and the same place the proto-martyr St Stephen is referred to as both 'the *eris-mt'avar*' and 'erist'av of all the martyrs' (*eris-mt'avrisa mis qovell'a mocamt'aysa*; *erist'avi igi qovell'a martwlt'ay*). Nevertheless, though a Presiding Prince might be called *erist'av* like any other duke, no ordinary duke is ever called *eris-mt'avar* in the sources: this remains the designation of the holders of the principate.

<sup>20</sup> *Erist'av* (*k'art'li*), or in connexion with the verb *erist'aoba* ('to be duke'): *Mart. Abo* 60, 61; Merč'ule 2; *Roy. List* II 64; — III 66, 67.

<sup>21</sup> For the holders of the Armenian Principate, see Laurent, *Arménie* 79-80, 332-336; Manandyan, *Invasions arabes* 193-195: Smbat V Bagratuni, considered in historiography as both a Presiding Prince and a Curopalate, was neither, as is clear from the text of Sebēos 32(188). For the Iberian Presiding Princes, see here *passim* and *Bagratids of Iberia* I. The Principate of Albania is treated well in Trever, *Oč.po ist. Alb.*; for that of Lazica, see II n. 355.

<sup>22</sup> See, for *κουροπαλάτης*, Du Cange, *Gl. gr.* I 739; Bury, *The Imperial Administrative*

pressive witness to their political importance on the international scene of the times.<sup>23</sup> When a Prince of Iberia was invested with a Roman title — Curopalate or Patrician — he is often referred to in the sources by that title alone.<sup>24</sup>

### III. — GUARAMIDS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS IN THE PRINCIPATE OF IBERIA

16. The younger branch of the Chosroid house, which was known as the Mithridatid in its capacity as the first Princes of the Blood of the Iberian Monarchy, can be called, in its new role of Presiding Princes of Iberia, the Guaramid.<sup>1</sup> The first holder of the Principate, Guaram I, died sometime between 591 and 602 — let us say, in the 590s. The first date is that of the Roman-Iranian Peace which ratified his position; the second, of the overthrow of Maurice, which is mentioned soon after his death. He was succeeded by his son Stephen (Step'anoz) I. Immediately upon recording his accession,

*System in the Ninth Century* (London 1911) 33-35; *Lat. Rom. Emp.* I 8; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 739-746; Bréhier, *Institutions* 98, 124, 136; A. Vogt, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. Le livre des cérémonies* II (Paris 1939) 53-55. It is difficult to agree with Bury (*Imp. Adm. Syst.*) that this title was conferred upon those outside the circle of the Imperial family only after the ninth or tenth century, for, as he himself admits, it was bestowed upon the Princes of Iberia before the reign of Leo VI. In fact, it was bestowed for the first time upon a Prince of Iberia at the time of the emergence of the Iberian Principate, in 588, exactly as its conferment upon a Prince of Armenia took place at the moment the Principate of that country was established under Prince David Saharuni in 635: cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 286. The information of Caucasian historians about the Imperial bestowal of titles upon Caucasian dynasts is usually trustworthy: cf. E. Paxomov, *Monety Gruzii* I (domongol'skij period) (St Petersburg 1910) 57-58. And it is of importance for Byzantine institutional history; accordingly, the first recorded instance of the dignity of Spatharocandidatus is found in the Armenian historian Sebēos: Bury, *loc. cit.* 26. Also, Bréhier is in error when he says that the title of Curopalate had lost its importance by the tenth century (*Vie et mort de Byzance* [Paris 1948] 594), because, in that century, the Emperor Nicephorus II conferred it upon his brother Leo Phocas and, what is more, in the eleventh century, the Emperor Isaac I gave it to his brother John Comnenus. It was the invention of new dignities by Alexius I Comnenus that pushed that of Curopalate down the hierarchical ladder. — For *πατρικιος*, see Bury, *Imp. Adm. Syst.* 27-28.

<sup>23</sup> The preference shown by the Imperial Court to Iberia over Armenia in this matter is, however, due not to the relative importance of the two countries, for the latter was very much more important than the former, but doubtless to the fact that while Iberia maintained religious conformity with the Empire, Armenia, after 555, did not.

<sup>24</sup> Thus, Guaram I is called only by his title of Curopalate: *supra* § 14; and Stephen II by that of Patrician: *infra* III § 21 — but not by Juanšer who records only the title of Curopalate in reference to the Princes of Iberia and neglects to mention their lesser Roman dignities.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra* I § 8, 10. The names 'Mithridatid' and 'Guaramid' are modern.



our historian, Juansher, proceeds to describe him as 'impious and without fear of God,' and, at the end of his principate, Juansher will accuse him of having been inimical to the faithful and friendly to the impious.<sup>2</sup> The accusation of impiety invariably implied, at that period of Caucasian history, an Iranophile political, no less than religious, orientation.<sup>3</sup> It can be inferred, therefore, that Stephen succeeded his father with a program diametrically opposite to the latter's — and to their house's — traditional cooperation with the Empire. If Guaram died in the 590s, the time was indeed propitious for such a *volle face*. Beginning in 592, the Empire was wholly occupied by the disastrous struggle against the Avars,<sup>4</sup> so that its contact with, let alone control of, Caucasia must have become extremely tenuous. One can, moreover, guess the reason for this reversal of policy, namely, the desire that we may ascribe to Stephen of reuniting, under the aegis of what then appeared the only powerful imperial neighbour, his land of Iberia which the equipoise between the two empires had divided in 591 into two spheres of influence. This aim he seems indeed to have achieved; and there is a note of emphasis, otherwise difficult to explain, in Juansher's statement that he was Prince *over all Iberia*.<sup>5</sup>

At first, the events seemed to vindicate the wisdom of his choice. Juansher goes on to record the overthrow of Maurice by Phocas (602) and the long, in fact the last, Roman-Iranian war it provoked (605-629). He tells us that this war proved at first victorious for Chosroes II, who posed as the avenger of Maurice, and mentions, in the course of it, the Iranian capture of Jerusalem and of the True Cross (614). It was then, or, more likely, already after the Iranian penetration of north-western Armenia in 607/608, that Stephen I openly took the side of Iran, 'fearing the Great King, says Juansher, he revolted against the Byzantines and passed to the Iranians.'<sup>6</sup>

In the long run, however, the new policy of the Guaramids proved disastrous for them. Juansher goes on to relate how Heraclius arose and overthrew Phocas (610), as a background for the Byzantine counter-offensive of 622-629, for Rome's victory and Iran's defeat. In the course of it, the new Emperor

<sup>2</sup> Juanšer 222, cf. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. V § II at nn. 106-108.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance* 43-45.

<sup>5</sup> Juanšer 223: და სტეფანოზ მთავრობდა ყოველსა ქართლსა ზედა. Juanšer also states that, for fear of the Iranians and the Byzantines, Stephen I did not assume the style of King, but used that of Arch-duke (*ibid.*; cf. *supra* II at n. 19). This reference to the Iranians and the Byzantines may be yet another indication of the division into two spheres, still operative at the beginning of his reign.

<sup>6</sup> Juanšer 223. — For the Iranian war under Phocas and Heraclius, see, e.g., Diehl and Marçais, *Monde oriental* 140 151; Baynes, 'The Successors of Justinian,' CMH 2 285-301; Grousset, *Histoire* 269-276; Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 238-241.

came to Albania (623) and to Iberia (626), but Stephen I, 'unwilling to rise against the Iranians, fortified the walled cities and stayed at Tiflis.' The Byzantines, aided by their Khazar allies, laid siege to Tiflis; in one of the sorties, in 627, Stephen was killed.<sup>7</sup>

17. Stephen I's policy undid the *raison d'être* of the Guaramids as holders of the Principate of Iberia. Once the younger Chosroids had ceased to be Romanophile, that office might as well pass, as it ought to have passed in 588, to the elder branch of the dynasty. And so, before he set out on his invasion of Iran (Autumn 627), Heraclius conferred the Principate upon Adarnase, Duke of Kakhetia, son of King Bacurius III. Now the former royal branch was, if in a reduced capacity, back at the helm of the State; and the Guaramids were relegated to their own appanage.<sup>8</sup>

Adarnase I reigned over a somewhat diminished Iberia, for the regions on the Byzantine frontier passed under the direct control of the Empire; but he was compensated at home by the adherence of the dukes.<sup>9</sup> It was during his reign

<sup>7</sup> Juanšer 223-226. The Khazars are referred to as Western Turks; it was with their aid that Heraclius assembled a great army against Iran. The commander-in-chief (*erist'av*), whom Heraclius left in Iberia in the Autumn of 627, in order to capture, with the aid of the new Prince, Adarnase I, the fortress of Tiflis (Kala) which, in spite of Stephen I's death, remained in pro-Iranian hands, is called *Ĵibğay* in A, *Ĵibğa* in M, *Ĵibla* in *Chron. armén.* 97-98, and *Ĵibgo* in *Roy. List II* 65. He is the *Čembux* of Sebeos 18 (106), *Ĵebuxak'an* of Moses Kal. 2.11-12, and *Ζεβύλ* of Theophanes, *Chron.* 656. His name and that of his son Šat', found in Moses Kal., are merely Turkish titles (*yabğū*, *xağan*, *šad*), which make it difficult to identify them: cf. Dowsett, *Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 83 n.4. Nevertheless, Markwart thought it possible to identify the first named personage with T'ong che-hou, *xağan* of the West Turks: *Streifzüge* 496; *Ērānšahr* 247. And Artamonov would identify the *yabğū* with Moho-šad, brother of T'ong che-hou and, in the years 618-626, Ambassador to China, and the *šad* with his son Buli (Buri)-šad: *Ist. Xazar* 145-147. — The fortress of Tiflis was finally taken and its commander flayed alive; his skin was then sent to Heraclius by the *yabğū*: Juanšer 225; *infra* Excursus A. This must lie at the basis of what Moses Kal., 2.14, has to say about the *šad*'s taking of Tiflis and killing and flaying 'two princes (*išxanin*), one ruling for the Iranians, the other of the land of Iberia.' The former was the Iranian commander of the fortress, the latter Stephen I. — For the coins of Stephen I, see *infra* Excursus B.

<sup>8</sup> Juanšer 225. Adarnase is called Duke of Kakhetia (*romeli erist'aobda kaxet's*) because, though he was the prince of that land from the dynasticist point of view, from the feudal point of view, he was also its duke: cf. *supra* I § 4; *infra* IV § 31.

<sup>9</sup> Juanšer 226: 'Then the Byzantines again seized the frontier of Iberia: Syspiritis and the southern extremity [*bolo* = 'end'] of Cholarzene: the sea coast. And the children of Stephen remained in the rocks of Cholarzene. And entire Iberia was held by Adarnase, son of Bacurius, as Prince. And he did not take [M has: venture] the appellation of King. And the dukes, each irremovably in his duchy, were obedient to Prince Adarnase.' For some reason, Adarnase was given the dignity of Curopalate by Markwart, *Streifzüge* 433. He was also called by him The Second, in contradistinction to Atrnerseh, revealed in various Armenian documents pertaining to the Armeno-Iberian religious crisis at the beginning of the

that Heraclius brought the Iranian war to a victorious conclusion (628-629) and recovered the True Cross. Then, in the seventh year after his first visit to Caucasia, the Emperor is reported by our historian to have returned to Iberia ( $623 + 7 = 630$ ) and to have dispoiled Prince Adarnase, despite his supplications, of some greatly venerated relics.<sup>10</sup>

Some additional information regarding Adarnase I is preserved in the *History of Albania* ascribed to Moses of Kałankaytuk', or of Daskhurēn. There he is mentioned in connexion with his alliance with Juanshēr, Presiding Prince of Albania (637/8-680/1) — which must have taken place sometime between 637 and 642 — and as holding 'three titles of the Roman Empire' — one of which can be taken to have been that of Patrician. The date of this alliance is that of the last historical appearance of Adarnase I.<sup>11</sup>

seventh century: *Bk Lett.* 133. Since at that time Stephen I was Prince of Iberia, the references to Atrnerseh must be interpreted as to an Iberian prince, not a Prince of Iberia; especially as, in one place, *Bk Lett.* 170-171, he is mentioned together with Ašuša, who was another dynast, the Vitaxa Aršuša IV (cf. II Appendix A II [9]). This is another instance of the confusion between Iberian chiefs of State and their vassals found in foreign sources: *supra* Introduction § 1 and n. 6). *Pace* Markwart, there can be no doubt that the Atrnerseh of these sources is the future Adarnase I, who, after his father's death, and especially after reaching majority, was, even before his accession to the Principate in 627, an important Iberian dynast, both as Prince of Kakhetia and as the head of the former royal house. In view of Stephen I's irreligion, it was only natural that the disputing ecclesiastics should have addressed themselves to Adarnase and Aršuša, the two greatest princes after the Prince of Iberia. In these documents, Adarnase is mentioned in one place with Vahan and Bzrmeh: *Bk Lett.* 133; cf. Markwart 433, 397-398 note. Since Bacurius III is said to have left children (*supra* I § 11), Vahan and Bzrmeh may well have been Adarnase I's brothers. For Adarnase's Roman title: *infra* at n. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Juanšer 227-228. Though Heraclius's arrival in Albania in 623 is not mentioned by Juanšer, it is indirectly referred to when he says that, after the recovery of the True Cross (630), Heraclius 'crossed the road of Iberia in the seventh year after he had passed it.' — The relics looted by Heraclius were the *suppedaneum* of the True Cross, from Manglisi, and a Holy Nail (cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 121), from Erušet'i, once presented to Mirian III by Constantine I (cf. Leont. Mrov. 117). Thus the Byzantines set an example of that relic 'collecting' to which they themselves were to be exposed in 1204.

<sup>11</sup> Moses Kał. 2.19. The date of the alliance, as between the battle of Ctesiphon (637) and that of Nehāwend (642), is considered likely by Dowsett, *Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 114 n.1. The traditional date for Adarnase I's death, 639 (Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 231 n. 6), has of itself but little worth; the evidence of Moses Kał., however, tends to make it credible. The 'three titles of the Roman Empire' is Dowsett's rendering (114) of *erreak gaherie'ut'iwn 'i Hrovma-gec'woc' l'agaworut'enēn* (for *gaherēc'*, of which the second word in the above phrase is the abstract noun, see also II n. 41). The historian Juanšer neglects to mention Roman titles below Curopalate that were borne by the Princes of Iberia (*supra* II n. 18); so if Adarnase I had any title at all, it must have been that of Patrician, the lesser of the two titles borne by the Caucasian presiding princes; and it is difficult to think that the faithful ally of Heraclius should have been left without even that. That he had a Roman title, is asserted by Moses

18. Stephen II, son and successor of Adarnase I, was, in contrast with the first Stephen, commended for his piety.<sup>12</sup> The new Prince lived to see the catastrophe that came in the wake of the successes of the Emperor Heraclius, when the rising tide of Islam replaced the declining Iranian empire in the role of the eastern enemy of the *pax christiana*. Briefly and by way of providing a background for the events, Juansher speaks of the beginnings of the movement, of Muḥammad and his immediate successors. He records the Arab conquest of the Sassanid realm<sup>13</sup> and of Syria and Mesopotamia under 'Umar (634-640), and the Byzantine retreat before that onslaught (after the battle of Yarmūk, 20 August 636, it would seem). On his way home, the Emperor Heraclius is made by our historian again to visit Iberia.<sup>14</sup> After this, as we know, Armenia was invaded by the Saracens (640-646).<sup>15</sup> Since, as it will be seen, Stephen II was the ruler of Iberia who had to exchange Imperial for Arab overlordship, the entire story of the rise of Islam, though antedating his principate, is given by Juansher in the part of his History devoted to it.

19. The synchronisms found in Juansher and in Moses of Kaḷankaytuk' make possible the following chronological table of the first four Princes of Iberia:

#### A. Guaramids

- I. Guaram I, Curopalate, 588-c. 590
- II. Stephen I, c. 590-627

#### B. Chosroids

- III. Adarnase I, Patrician, 627-637/642
- IV. Stephen II, Patrician, 637/642 (§ 21, 22).

Kaḷ.; and the expression 'three titles' can perhaps be explained in the context of the next chapter of Moses Kaḷ.'s work. In 2.20, the Emperor is said to have placed at the disposal of Juanšēr of Albania patents for the titles of Patrician, Consul (= *ἑπαρχος*), ex-Prefect (= *ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων*), etc., to be distributed to whom the latter might wish (their number: 1,200 is an obvious exaggeration); cf. Dowsett 116 and nn.; Bréhier, *Institutions* 117, 123. Juanšēr himself was a Patrician, though, in contradistinction to others, made a First Patrician (= *πρωτοπατρίκιος*). Later, he became an ex-Consul and Patrician (*ἀπὸ ὑπάτων*: 2.21). Accordingly, the Patriciate, the Consulate, and the ex-Prefecture appear to have been the highest titles, below the Curopalate, that were conferred upon Caucasian dynasts. This sequence is borne out by the fact that, as will be seen, Adarnase II of Iberia was a Consul before becoming a Patrician. In this light, what Moses Kaḷ. seems to mean by the 'three titles' of Adarnase I is that he received, no doubt successively, the three highest titles below that of Curopalate, in other words, that he was, like his Albanian counterpart, a Patrician.

<sup>12</sup> Juanšēr 228. — For Stephen II's coins, see *infra* Excursus B.

<sup>13</sup> Erroneously, the conquest of Iran is ascribed to Abū Bakr: Juanšēr 229.

<sup>14</sup> Juanšēr 230-231.

<sup>15</sup> Grousset, *Histoire* 296-298; Manandyan, *Invasions arabes* 163-192.

20. The advent of Islam was of vast significance for Iberia and Caucasia in general. Having begun their penetration of Armenia in 640, the Arabs, despite the counter-offensive of the Emperor Constans II in 647, established their suzerainty over the Armenian Princes by the treaty of 653/654.<sup>16</sup> The Islamic wave reached Iberia perhaps as early as in 645; and the Patrician (*baṭrīq*) of Iberia was obliged to conclude, through an ambassador, with the Arab general Ḥabīb ibn-Maslamah a treaty which amounted to an acceptance of the Caliph's suzerainty and of the status of a tributary, though autonomous, State. It is, however, difficult to suppose that any effective Saracen control of Iberia could have been established before the consolidation of Saracen rule in Armenia in 653/654. With this, Tiflis became an Arab enclave and the seat of the Caliph's representative. About the same time, Albania, too, fell under the control of the Caliphate, and possibly also Lazica. Thus came into being the first vassal States — and not conquered provinces — of the rising Islamic empire.<sup>17</sup>

21. All this, oddly enough, is missing from Juansher's History. After mentioning the Emperor Heraclius's sojourn in Iberia, following his defeat by the Arabs, the text proceeds to the story of the Chosroid Stephen and his two sons Mihr or Mirian and Arch'il, the future St Arch'il the Martyr. This story opens indeed, with an invasion of Georgia by the Arabs under the command of one *Murvan Qru* (Murvan the Deaf), at the time of the Caliph *Ešim*, and ends, fifty years later, with another Saracen interference.<sup>18</sup> The next source in the Georgian Royal Annals, the *Martyrdom of St Arch'il*, shows Arch'il to have

<sup>16</sup> Grousset, *op.cit.* 300-301; Laurent, *Arménie* 33-34; cf. *supra* II n. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Minorsky, *Tiflis* 753; Javaxišvili, *K'artl. er. ist.* II 343; Berjēnišvili *et al.*, *Istoriġa Gruzii* 141-142; S. Eremyan, 'Moisej Kalankatujskij o posol'stve albanskogo knjazja Varaz-Trdata k xazarskomu xakanu Alp-Ilitveru,' *ZIV* 7 (1939) 130; cf. Laurent, *Arménie* 338, 90 n.1 for Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah. The Arab sources indicate that Lazica (called, *ex post facto*, *Abḥāz*) paid tribute, together with Iberia (*Ĵurzān*) to the Arab resident at Tiflis. For Albania, see Trever, *Oč.po ist. Alb.* 244-249. — Iberia, together with Armenia and Albania, formed one viceroyalty, termed 'Armenia' (*Armīniya*) by the Caliphate. This may lie at the bottom of the statement of Sebēos 35(233) that the Caliph 'gave' to Theodore Rštuni (Presiding Prince of Armenia according to the treaty of 653/654; cf. *supra* II n. 17) not only Armenia, but also Iberia and Albania: an Arab administrative formula serving well Armenian pan-Caucasian cosmocratism. The existence of the Iberian and Albanian Presiding Princes makes this statement rather doubtful. The seat of the Saracen viceroy of 'Armenia' (subsequently styled *ostikan*) was at first Dvin, in Armenia, and, later in the 770s, Partav (Bardavi, Barḏa'a), in Albania: cf. A. Tēr-Levondyan, 'K voprosu o vozniknovenii Dvinskogo ėmirata v Armenii,' *Sbornik v čest' I. A. Orbeli* 133-139. For the viceroys, see Laurent 336-347 and, after 750, R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien unter den Abbasiden, von as-Saffach bis zum Krönung Aschots I., 750-887* (Vienna 1931). To designate the Presiding Princes of Caucasia, the Saracens used the Roman title of Patrician (*baṭrīq*), so much had it become customary for them to receive it; cf. Laurent 189 and n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Juansher 232-244.

been martyred 'after fifty years had passed' by the Arab commander *Cičum* or *Asim*.<sup>19</sup> It has been established that *Murvan Qru* was, in this case, Marwān ibn Muḥammad (later Caliph as Marwān II) and that the invasion he commanded had nothing to do with the events of the seventh century, but was part of his Khazar war undertaken in 736, under the Caliph Hishām (724-743); and that, on the other hand, *Cičum* or *Asim* was the Caliph's Viceroy of Armenia Khu-zaima ibn Khāzim by whom St Arch'il was put to death in 786, indeed fifty years later.<sup>20</sup> It thus becomes obvious that a whole century of Iberian history between the Saracen invasion of the mid-seventh century and the campaign of 736, has been omitted in the work of Juansher or in its present redaction. It is manifest, too, that Arch'il, who died in 786, could not have been a son of Stephen II of Iberia, who came to the Principate in 637/642, as seems implied in the text, unless that omission be recognized.

How to account for this lapse? It seems quite probable that this lacuna is due to a confusion in the mind of a redactor of our source, — a confusion that must have been caused by an apparent similarity of subject matter. One instance of such similarity is immediately obvious: it is between the Arab invasion of the mid-seventh century and that of 736, resulting in the omission of the former in the text of Juansher. But there must have been another instance of this similarity: onomastic rather than factual. Mihr and Arch'il were sons of a Stephen, but obviously of a later Chosroid of that name than Stephen II, one who must have been subsequently confused with the latter. The data at our disposal can both explain the lacuna in question and fill it with historical facts.

We must now pass for a moment from historiographic to epigraphic sources. The lovely church of the Holy Cross (Juari), near Mts'khet'a, — a gem of early Georgian architecture — contains a number of inscriptions. Three among them are of importance for this Study. They accompany the three images of the patrons or builders of that church, in stone relief, decorating the eastern façade of it, and reveal them to represent Stephen, Patrician of Iberia, the Consul (*Hypatos*) Demetrius (Demetre) and the Consul Adrnerse. The latter is accompanied by the figure of a boy, presumably his son.<sup>21</sup> The three names

<sup>19</sup> *Mart. Arch'il* 245-248.

<sup>20</sup> III/III n. 48.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Tarchnišvili, 'Les récentes découvertes épigraphiques et littéraires en géorgien,' LeM 63 (1950) 250 (and bibl.); Amiranašvili, *Ist. gruz. isk.* 113-114 (and bibl.), 127-128, Tables 35-39. — Still another image and inscription belong to K'obul the Strategus. The Greek term must be a translation of *spaspel* (*supra* II§ 15 and n. 15); it appears, therefore that in Iberia, as in Armenia, the office of High Constable was occasionally separated from that of Presiding Prince; cf. Laurent, *Arménie* 77.



also figure together in another inscription from the same church.<sup>22</sup> It has been assumed that the personages so represented are Stephen I, his brother Demetrius, known to us from Juansher,<sup>23</sup> and Adarnase I.<sup>24</sup> Several facts, however, militate against this identification. Firstly, a comparison of the personalities of the two Stephens leads one to the conclusion that it must be rather Stephen II who is commemorated in the Juari inscriptions and effigy. Of the first Stephen, Juansher speaks in the following terms: 'This Stephen was impious and without fear of God, not serving God nor fostering the Faith and the churches,'<sup>25</sup> and, on the occasion of his death: 'For God did this to Prince Stephen, because he lived not according to God's grace: he was a foe to the pious and a friend to the impious.'<sup>26</sup> Of Stephen II, on the other hand, our historian has this to say: 'This Stephen was pious, a purifier of the Faith, a builder of churches, more so than all the Kings and Princes of Iberia.'<sup>27</sup> Secondly, Juansher then goes on to say, in the same passage, that it was precisely Stephen II who 'surrounded with walls the church of the Holy Cross (Juari).' Thirdly, it has been seen that Stephen I abandoned the Imperial alliance for the Iranian; it is hardly conceivable, therefore, that he and his relatives, under him, should have borne any Roman titles.<sup>28</sup> Fourthly, it is no less difficult to presume that Adarnase, head of the dethroned Chosroids of the elder branch, should have been depicted together with the Guaramids, who, for all the obedience they received from him, must have been in the eyes of the legitimists of the day undoubted usurpers. That, on the other hand, Demetrius, Stephen I's brother, should have been represented with the Chosroids, is not an impossibility. Demetrius is recorded as having been building the church of the Holy Cross during the reign of his impious brother:<sup>29</sup> he evidently did not share his brother's religious views, nor, possibly, his political orientation. His dignity of Consul may have been given to him after Stephen I's death as a consolation for seeing the Principate pass out of his branch.<sup>30</sup> And the joint inscription of Stephen II, Demetrius, and Adarnase, requesting prayers for their souls and bodies, indicates that the *floruit* of Demetrius extended into the principate of the second Stephen. Vardan, on the other hand, refers to a cure of the wife

<sup>22</sup> Tarchnišvili, *op. cit.* 253.

<sup>23</sup> Juansher 223.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 21; and Markwart, *Streifzüge* 433.

<sup>25</sup> Juansher 222; cf. *supra* § 16 at nn. 2-3.

<sup>26</sup> Juansher 226.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 228.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *supra* II § 15.

<sup>29</sup> Juansher 223.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *supra* at n. 11: the dignity of Consul was next to that of Patrician, which at that time belonged to the Presiding Prince of Iberia, Adarnase I.

of 'Demetre, King of Iberia,' as occurring before the time of the Armenian Katholikos Nerses III (642-662).<sup>31</sup> The date of the inscription, like that of Stephen II's accession, appears thus to be 637/642.

If Stephen of the Juari effigy and inscriptions is Stephen II, who is Adrnerse? Judging by his subordinate position — Stephen is in the centre with his elder cousin Demetrius on his heraldic right and Adrnerse on his left — and by his lesser title, he is most likely a son of Stephen. Indeed, the naming pattern: Adarnase-Stephen-Adarnase (Adrnerse) suggests this conjecture; other considerations will support it. Those who assume that the Juari personages are Stephen I and Adarnase I identify the little boy represented next to Adrnerse as the young Stephen II. Since that identification as a whole is unacceptable, I venture to suggest, relying again on what appears to be the naming pattern of the Chosroids, that Stephen, father of Mihr and Arch'il, was a son of Adarnase (Adrnerse), who in turn was a son of Stephen II, son of Adarnase I, and that it is probably he who is represented as a boy at Juari. This would explain exactly how Mihr and Arch'il, unquestionable Chosroids, were descended from the earlier Chosroid Princes of Iberia and would, moreover, show what was the onomastic confusion — between Stephen II, son of Adarnase I, and Stephen, son of Adarnase and father of Mihr and Arch'il — that, together with the confusion between two Saracen invasions of Georgia, must have caused a redactor of Juansher's work to omit a century of Iberian history.

22. The Patrician Stephen II was undoubtedly the Patrician of Iberia of the Arab writers who submitted to the Caliph's overlordship in 645 (§ 20). The next Prince of Iberia, known to us only from Armenian sources, owing to the lacuna in Juansher, was Nerseh, a contemporary of the Armenian Katholikos Israel (677-687); he was married to a princess of the House of Kamsarakan<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Vardan 69-70: she was cured of leprosy before the Cross of Varjia, in Javaxet'i. Demetrius, too, is said by Juanšer, 223, to have been 'afflicted with the evil disease,' i.e., leprosy. Brosset thought that this cure took place *under* the Armenian Katholikos Nerses III (*Hist. de la Gé.*, I 1. 259 n. 6), but Vardan refers to it as an antecedent event (cf. Muyltermans, *Domination arabe* 91 n. 3). The style 'King of Iberia' (*ark'ay Vrae'*) is another instance of a foreign source confusing a prominent Iberian with the ruler of Iberia (cf. *supra* Introduction § 1 and n. 6). — It is interesting to note the manifestations of the veneration of the Cross in the Iberia of the sixth-seventh century (cf. Tarchnišvili, *Sources* 36). Demetrius's wife was cured before an image of the Cross; her husband continued the construction of the church of the Holy Cross, begun by Guaram I (588-c. 590) (Juanšer 221) and completed by Stephen II (637/642—). For the influence of this cultus on the Iberian coinage of the time, cf. *infra* Excursus B.

<sup>32</sup> A memento in one of the two MSS of Philo of Tirak's Armenian translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates states that 18 years before that translation was made, Gregory, Abbot of Jorap'or had translated the Life of Pope St Sylvester at the command of 'Nerseh of glorious memory, Prince of Iberia, son-in-law of the Kamsarakans,' while the colophon of the other

and, having revolted against the Saracens in 681/682, fell in the struggle against the invading Khazars in 684.<sup>33</sup> The names Nerseh, Nerse and Atr-nerseh, Adrnerse, Adarnase being interchangeable,<sup>34</sup> there can be no reasonable doubt that this Prince Atr-Nerseh II was the son of Stephen II, the Consul Adrnerse of the Juari representation and inscriptions. His insubordination vis-à-vis the Arabs must inevitably have implied a gravitation towards the Empire. Accordingly, already in the 660s, one of the documents pertaining to the martyrdom of St Maximus the Confessor, the letter of Anastasius the Apocrisiarius, mentions the then Patrician of Iberia, who must have been Adarnase II.<sup>35</sup>

23. Accordingly, the above chronological table of the Princes of Iberia (§ 19) can be continued as follows:

IV. Stephen II, Patrician, 637/642 - after 645 (c. 650)

V. Adarnase II, Patrician, (c. 650)-684.

24. The revolt against the Caliphate of 681/682, in which Armenia was joined by Iberia, which appears to have turned towards the Empire already in the 660s, came to nought. One of its consequences, however, was that in Armenia, the Mamikonid Dynasty to which belonged the Prince of Armenia who took part in the revolt, lost the Caliph's favour which was now given to the Bagratids.<sup>36</sup> The same circumstances seem to have brought about the replacement once again of the Chosroids by the Guaramids in the government of Iberia. But before the restored Guaramids are examined here, attention

MS of Philo's translation states the latter's date is 686: Peeters, *Débuts du christianisme* 46, or 696: Markwart *Streifzüge* 402 n.; Muyldermans, *Domination arabe* 93 n. 1. Thus the Life of St Sylvester was translated in 668 or 678. Nerseh of Iberia is also reported by John Kath., 93, to have gained a victory over the Arabs, under the Armenian Katholikos Israel; this is followed by Vardan 70.

<sup>33</sup> Leontius 4 (15-16) does not give the *praenomina* of the Princes of Iberia and of Albania who were slain together with Gregory I Mamikonean, Prince of Armenia. The date of the invasion is 684: Eremyan, *Moisej Kal.* 134-137; and the battle took place on 13 June, according to an anonymous seventh-century Armenian chronicle: *ibid.* 131. Cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge* 433.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 3 (4), 224 (61).

<sup>35</sup> Anastasius Apocr. 12 (177): 'suscipientes ad eum [scil. the Prince of Albania] palam epistolam a laudabili Patricio et praetore Hiberiae ...' *Laudabilis* is an 'unofficial' translation of *περιβλεπτος* = *spectabilis*, which was the qualification of the Patricians: cf., e.g., Philotheus, *Clet.* 1 (*Δωδεκάτη ἡ τῶν περιβλεπτῶν πατρικίων ἀξία*). *Praetor* is used here in the sense of governor; e.g., that of Sicily; see II at n. 102, for the Byzantine cosmocratic view that other rulers were the Emperor's representatives. — The coins possibly of Adarnase II are discussed in Excursus B.

<sup>36</sup> Grousset, *Histoire* 307.

must be given, in order better to muster the material at our disposal, to their immediate successors in the Principate of Iberia.

25. The Third Dynasty of the Princes of Iberia is known to us from two near-contemporary hagiographic works, as well as from Juansher. From the *Martyrdom of St Abo of Tiflis*, written by the Priest John, son of Saban, shortly after 786,<sup>37</sup> the existence of the Curopalate and Duke (*eris-mt'avar*) of Iberia Adarnase (III) and of his son Duke (*eris-mt'avar*, also *erist'av*) Nerse, is revealed to us. Nerse was arrested by the Saracens (772) and kept imprisoned at Baghdad for three years; then, the accession of the new Caliph, al-Mahdī (775) brought about his liberation and restoration in Iberia. In 779/780, however, Nerse again had difficulties with the Saracens and was obliged to flee to the Khazars, and thence passed to Abkhazia; he was replaced as Duke (*eris-mt'avar*) of Iberia by — the Guaramid, as will be seen — Stephen (III), son of his sister and of a Duke (*erist'av*) Gurgēn. By 786, when St Abo was martyred, both Nerse and Stephen disappear from history.<sup>38</sup> Nerse is also known from the tenth-century *Life of St Gregory of Khandzt'a*, written by George Merch'ule.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, St Gregory was born in 759/760 and was brought up by his aunt and her husband, Duke (*erist'av*) Nerse, who, as is clear from the context, reigned in Inner Iberia.<sup>40</sup> That Adarnase and Nerse were more than local dynasts, that is, that they were Presiding Princes of Iberia, is patent from the title of Curopalate borne by the former (traditionally associated with the Principate and not conferred upon lesser princes) and by that of *eris-mt'avar* used of both.

26. In Juansher, too, there are references to this Third Dynasty of the Princes of Iberia. We must turn for them to that part of his work which deals with the Chosroid Stephen and his sons, Mihr and Arch'il. It is in this part that Juansher betrays his excessive legitimism. His narrative, indeed, makes it obvious that the Chosroids were Princes of Kakhetia — and this is supported by the *Martyrdom of St Arch'il*<sup>41</sup> — and it contains such historical facts

<sup>37</sup> *Introd.* at n. 51.

<sup>38</sup> *Mart. Abo.* 60, 61-63; cf. Peeters, *Khazars* 23-49.

<sup>39</sup> *Introd.* at n. 55.

<sup>40</sup> Merch'ule 2 (27); in order to go to Upper Iberia, Gregory left Iberia i. e., Inner Iberia: 5. He died in 861 at the age of 101: 83. It is odd that Fr Peeters should have described Duke Nerse of this Life as 'regulus aut dynastes, ceterim ignotus': 'Vie de S. Grégoire de Khandztha,' in *Hist. mon. géorg.* 218 n. 4.

<sup>41</sup> Stephen is said to have taken with him to West Georgia one half of the Chosroid treasures; the other half Arch'il hid, for the most part, in the Valley of Kakhetia and in that of Ujarma: Juansher 233 (for Ujarma as appanage of the Chosroids, cf. *supra* I § 8). Upon his return from West Georgia, Arch'il went to Kakhetia: Juansher 243. According to the *Mart. Arch'il*, Huzaima ibn Hāzīm (Čičum or Asim) moved on Kakhetia and then St Arch'il presented himself before him wishing to intercede on behalf of his people: 245. But Huzaima was aroused

as the emigration to West Georgia, possibly upon the death of Adarnase II, of Stephen and his elder son; Stephen's subsequent death there; Arch'il's removal thither; the invasion of Marwān ibn Muḥammad in 736; the death of Mihr in the course of it; the return of Arch'il to Kakhetia twelve years later (748); and his marriage.<sup>42</sup> But at the same time our historian allows his legitimist sentiments to get the better of him when he refers, on two occasions, to the two brothers, Mihr and Arch'il, as 'Iberian Kings' and when, in their discourses and in those of their adherents, reproduced in the text, they are made to appear as full sovereigns of all the Georgian lands.<sup>43</sup> In keeping with these

against him by a Gardabanian prince who had become a renegade and who wished to avenge his uncle killed by the Canars (= Šanāriya; cf. *infra* IV n. 9); and Arč'il perished for the Faith through decollation: 246-248. After his death, his widow granted estates in Kakhetia to those who had remained faithful to him: 248. The *Mari. Arč'il* (erroneously attributed to Leonti Mroveli, *supra* Introduction § 2) must be a much later work than Juanšer, for it accepts as a matter of course the lacuna of a century in the latter's work (*supra* § 21) and makes Arč'il say that he was young when the Emperor Heraclius came to Iberia: 247. Elsewhere in this work, Arč'il is said to be a grandson of 'King Adarnase': 246.

<sup>42</sup> The Chosroid Stephen's emigration to West Georgia (cf. *infra* n. 52) can be accounted for by a fear of Arab reprisals after the unsuccessful revolt of Prince Adarnase II in 681/2 or after his death in 684 (*supra* § 22). Yet Arč'il, who died in 786, and who rejoined Stephen and Mihr in West Georgia only shortly before the campaign of Marwān ibn Muḥammad in 736, cannot have been born much before c. 700. It must be assumed either that Stephen migrated only c. 700, or what is more likely, that, having settled in West Georgia after 681/2, he had the opportunity of revisiting East Georgia. At any rate, after Arč'il's migration, Marwān's campaign took place. He crossed Mt Caucasus and penetrated as far as Derbend, then returned and, learning of the flight of the Chosroids to West Georgia (*Egrisi*) and thence to Abkhazia (*Ap'xazet'i*), moved into the Imperial territory and laid siege to Anakop'ia, where Mihr and Arč'il had taken refuge, their father having in the meantime died. But he failed to capture that fortress because of an apparition and an epidemic of dysentery which afflicted his army and had to turn back. During the siege of Anakop'ia, Mihr was wounded and died soon afterwards: Juanšer 233-241. Finally, twelve years after his departure, Arč'il returned to East Georgia and went to Kakhetia. Then he married: *ibid.* 243 (for his marriage, cf. *infra* n. 49). The V Redaction is responsible for interpolating into the above outlined narrative fragments from the twelfth-century *Martyrdom of Sts David and Constantine: Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.*, 177 n. 5 No. 9.

<sup>43</sup> It is to be remarked, however, that the use of the plural *mep'eni K'art'lisani* ('Iberian Kings') by Juanšer (234, 235) when referring to Mihr and Arč'il is a considerably weaker one than the use of the singular of the royal title with regard to one of the brothers would have been: it simply tends to suggest their belonging to a royal house. Moreover, with the kingship in abeyance, the royal title tended to become a vague epithet rather than an exact term. We find a similar situation in tenth-century Iberia, when, during the Abasgian occupation of the Iberian throne, various Bagratid dynasts in Upper Iberia, such as Sumbat III of Artanuji-Cholarzene or the Curopalate David the Great of Tao (cf. *Bagr. of Iber.* I Nos 51, 54) were mentioned in contemporary documents as 'Kings': cf. R.P. Blake and S. Der Nersessian, 'The Gospels of Bert'ay,' B 16 (1942-1943) 252; Z I (1892) 96. The V Redaction goes much further, in interpolating into the text of Juanšer such sentences as 'and while he

sentiments, Arch'il is described, upon his return (748), as marrying off his brother's daughters to different dukes and as giving out to them various fiefs, in his purported quality of suzerain. The fact of marrying off his nieces need not be doubted as historically true;<sup>44</sup> and the list of the Iberian Princes of the time thus presented by Juansher is of a very great importance to us. Leaving aside the Duke of Abkhazia, who is said to have married Arch'il's seventh niece and who was a vassal of the Empire, quite outside the sphere of the Iberian Principate,<sup>45</sup> here is the text of Juansher relating this event:

Arch'il summoned the dukes of Iberia and gave to them his nieces: one he gave to his cousin, son of the Curopalate Guaram, who held Cholarzene and Javakhet'i; the second he gave to the Vitaxa of the House of P'eroz, who was Prince of T'rialet'i, Tashiri, and Abots'i; the third he

was there [in Egrisi] Stephen, Prince of Iberia, died and his son(s) Mihr and Arč'il became King(s) in his stead' and, after Mihr's death, 'and his brother Arč'il became King in his stead' (cf. Q 235, 241). As for Juansher's historical work, it remains, upon examination, a trustworthy, if occasionally equivocating, document. It is only in the speeches which he introduces into his narrative, that Juansher feels free to give full vent to his legitimism, without scruples about his own integrity as an historian. Accordingly, the dying Mihr, e.g., says to his brother that he is leaving to him all the provinces of West Georgia (which then belonged to the Empire) and to his own daughters, among other things, Cholarzene (which belonged to the Guaramids): 240-241. See also I at n. 158, for Iberian cosmocratism as manifested in the claims to control West Georgia.

<sup>44</sup> That all of Mihr's seven daughters were married off to all of the great Iberian dynasts and to the Duke of Abkhazia, is, however, perhaps a little difficult to regard as absolutely historical, especially since two of the Iberian princes were father and son (Adarnase III and Nerse)! Possibly, this is an allegory of Arč'il's resignation of his royal claims to the Iberian throne, upon his return to Iberia in 748, and of his recognition of the aristocratic oligarchy which, together with the Presiding Prince, ruled that country: cf. Markwart *Streifzüge* 421.

<sup>45</sup> Whether or no Arč'il married a niece of his to Leo, Imperial duke (*erist'avi keisrisa*) of Abkhazia (Juansher 242; cf. 235, 239, 243) the latter was in no sense his vassal, as the speeches introduced into Juansher's narrative (242) imply, but the Emperor's. Whereas Lazica-Egrisi had been, for some time, under the direct administration of the Empire, Abkhazia, the former's dependency, was still under its own princes (dukes from the Imperial point of view). Leo I's nephew, Leo II (son of a Khazar princess and so possibly a relative of the Emperor Leo IV) became, with Khazar aid, independent of the Empire, extended his rule to Lazica-Egrisi, and thus established the mediaeval Kingdom of Abasgia (Ap'xazet'i), in the 790s: Janašia, *O vremeni i uslovijam razvitiia Abkhazii v IX-XI vv.* It was to him that Nerse of Iberia came in 781/782: *supra* § 25. The *Chron. Iber.*, 251, describes the formation of the Abasgian Monarchy in the following terms: 'And when the Byzantines grew weak, the Duke of the Abkhazians, by the name of Leo, nephew of the Duke [M adds: Leo] to whom Abkhazia had been given hereditarily, seceded from them. This second Leo was the son of a daughter of the King of the Khazars; and with the aid of their forces he seceded from the Byzantines, seized Abkhazia and Egrisi to the Lixi [mountains] under the appellation of King of Abasgia, [of the Abasgians = *mep'e ap'xazet'a*]; for John was dead and Juansher was aged.' For the Chosroid princes, John and Juansher, see *infra* § 33.



gave to Nerse Nersiani, who was [a descendant of] the grandee of King Vakhtang; the fourth he gave to Adarnese Adarnesiani — and the two of them divided the Upper Country which is Iberia; the fifth he gave to Varzman and he gave him the domain from Kotmani to K'urdis-Khevi: this Varzman was of the house of the Iranian duke of Bardavi who was a brother of King Vakhtang's mother; the sixth he gave to Juansher Juansheriani, who was of the house of King Mirian of the branch of the sons of Rev: and he gave him Juari and Kherki and the whole of the mountainous region, the valley of Manglisi, and Tiflis.<sup>46</sup>

These various dynasts will be dealt with later; what is of interest here now is only the reference to the two Princes of Iberia, the Curopalate Adarnase III and the Duke Nerse, as Nerse Nersiani and Adarnese Adarnesiani. Of especial interest is Juansher's testimony to the effect that the Third Dynasty was not of Chosroid descent, but was deduced from one of the local princes of the time

<sup>46</sup> Juansher 241-242: არჩილ \* მოუწოდა ერისთავთა ქართლისათა, და მიხცნა მამისწულნი: ერთი მიხცა მამის მამისწულსა მიხცა, შვილსა გუარამ კურაპალატისა, რომელსა ჰქონდა კლარჯეთი და ჯავახეთი; მეორე მიხცა პარტიანსა, ნათესავსა ფეროზისსა, რომელი მთავრობდა თრიალეთს, ტაშირს და აბოცხს; მესამე მიხცა ნერსეს ნერსიანსა, რომელი-იგი იყო წარჩინებული ვარტანგ მეფისა; მეოთხე მიხცა ადარნესეს ადარნესიანსა, და ორთავე ამათ განუყო ზენა ზოდგელი, რომელ არს ქართლი; მეხუთე მიხცა ვარზმანს და მიხცა კოტმანითგან ქუთდის-გეგამდე: იყო ესე ვარზმან ნათესავი სპარსთა ერისთავისა ბარდაგელისა, რომელი იყო დედის მამა ვარტანგ მეფისა; მეექვსე მიხცა ჯუანშერს ჯუანშერიანსა, რომელი-იგი იყო ნათესავი მირიან მეფისა, შვილთაგან რევის ძეთასა და მიხცა ჯუარო და ზერგი, და ყოველი მთელეთი, მანგლისის გევი და ტფილისი. — Q (a) inserts before this: ზოლთ, not in A. — (b) adds: მიხცო. — (c) has this, while A has: მამის მამსა, შვილსა გუარამ კურაპალატისა ('to his father's brother, the son of the Curopalate Guram') and M: მამის მამის წულის შვილსა მიხცა გუარამ კურაპალატისა ('to his father's brother's son's child, the C. Guaram'). In the first version, the words 'the son of the C. Gu(a)ram' are in apposition to 'his father's brother,' both are in the dative case, and the words 'of the C. Gu(a)ram' are in the dative of the genitive (a construction typical of Georgian). In the second version, the same redeclension of the genitive is found (-isasa = -issa), but there is no need for this construction: 'father's brother's son's' is in the genitive modifying 'child,' but not apposed to it; the apposition is between the entire phrase 'father's.... child' (*mamis ... missa*) and 'the C. Guaram,' so the latter need not be in the genitive, but only in the dative. Something is obviously wrong with this sentence. The first version, too, is not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*: a Guaramid could not be an uncle (father's brother) of Arč'il, he could only be a distant cousin. Now the word in Georgian to designate not only a cousin-german, but also a distant cousin was then precisely *mamis jmis cul* ('father's brother's child'): III/III at nn. 43-44. The original sentence, disfigured in both versions, must have been something like: *mamis jmis cula missa švilsa guaram kurapalatisasa* = 'to his cousin, the son (child) of the Curopalate Guaram.' — (d) has this, instead of A იყო ოგო — (e) prefers: მამა ('father') of more recent codd. — (f) om. this. — (g) prefers: მთელეთი of more recent codd.

of Vakhtang I, namely, Nerse or Nerseran, Duke of Khunani.<sup>47</sup> So, whereas the name Nersiani has an historical significance, 'Adarnesiani' is obviously pleonastic. Because, no doubt, of the usual confusion between 'Nerse' and 'Atr-Nerse,' Juansher mentions the son's name first and the father's second. It is difficult to decide whether the reference to their joint rule may be an indication of a case of co-optation. At all events, the power of the dukes vis-à-vis the Presiding Prince must have increased so much that the latter was referred to by the title indicative of only his own ducal position.<sup>48</sup> The recalcitrance of the dynastic aristocracy which had reduced the monarchy in the sixth century must now have been responsible for this diminution of the Principate.

27. To determine the date and the circumstances of the Third Dynasty's accession to the Principate of Iberia, we must now turn to the period that preceded that event and followed the death of Adarnase II in 684 (§§ 22, 23). It has been suggested above (§ 24) that the revolt of that prince may have had the same consequences for his dynasty, the Chosroids, as had the action of his Armenian colleague for his own Mamikonid Dynasty. The Caliph's favour may have been withdrawn from the Chosroids and transferred to the Guaramids, so that, between Adarnase II and Adarnase III, the Principate may have been held by the latter house. Now, it has been seen that Juansher mentions the son ('child') of a Curopalate Guaram among the Iberian Princes of Arch'il's day (736-786). Then, according to him, the first Bagratid arrival in Iberia, Adarnase, came, after 772, to stay with the children of a Curopalate Guaram in Cholarzene (IV § 34). Finally, our historian records the marriage of Arch'il with the daughter of a Curopalate Guaram '[descended] from the sons of Vakhtang Gorgasal, born by his Byzantine wife.'<sup>49</sup> Obviously, the Curopalate Guaram of these three references cannot have been Guaram I (588-c.

<sup>47</sup> HVG 185, 200.

<sup>48</sup> Juansher's legitimism, too, ought to be taken into consideration here. For the titles, see *supra* II nn. 19, 20.

<sup>49</sup> Juansher 243. The marriage is mentioned after Arch'il's return from his exile (748) and after the subsequent marriages of his nieces (*supra* § 26), as well as after the arrival of the Bagratid Adarnase (*infra* IV § 34). The present redaction of Juansher's work is marred by several imperfections, such as omissions, transpositions of passages, etc. (cf. *supra* § 21; II Appendix A II (6); III/III § 8); consequently, the relative position of the reference to Arch'il's marriage need not necessarily be taken as a chronological indication.—The word *švil* ('child') can indeed also signify 'descendant' (cf. Sumbat 338; *supra* I n. 116), but Juansher employs in this sense either *nat'esav* or *švill'agan*; whereas his use of *švil* seems invariably to imply 'child' in the sense of 'son' or 'daughter'; thus, the 'children' of Bacurius III (217, 219) included Adarnase I, his son; the Emperor Maurice is murdered together with his 'children'; St Susan is called *asuli mt'avart'a ... švili vardanisi* ('daughter of princes ... Vardan's child') in A and *mt'avart'a švili ... asuli vardanisi* ('child of princes ... Vardan's daughter') in M: this is preferred by Q.

590). At the same time, the title of Curopalate, we know, could hardly have been bestowed upon any lesser personage than a Presiding Prince. It follows, then, that there was a Guaramid Prince-Curopalate of Iberia in the generation that preceded that of Arch'il and of his contemporaries of the Third Dynasty. Indeed, the *Royal List* attached to the *Conversion of Iberia* — a most confused document which contains nevertheless fragments of valuable information (Excursus A) — mentions not one, but two Guaramid Presiding Princes after Stephen II (omitting Adarnase II), namely, Guaram the Curopalate and Guaram the Younger. And it would actually take two reigns to fill the period between the years 684 and 748, the latter date being, as we shall see, the most probable one of Adarnase III's accession to power. If this be so, Guaram the Younger of the List must be the Curopalate Guaram of Juansher. The name that follows his in the List is conjoined with the dignity of Curopalate; but it designates a lesser dynast: a Vitaxa of Gogarene, upon whom that Roman title would in no way have been conferred. In the sources of the List, that dignity must have belonged to Guaram the Younger, but the compiler of that document must have redistributed the epithets among the personages mentioned therein so as to suit his own aesthetic sensibility ('Guaram the Curopalate,' 'Guaram the Younger,' 'Arshusha the Curopalate,' 'Varaz-Bakur the ex-Consul and Patrician,' cf. Excursus A). A little farther down the *Royal List*, still another Guaram is shown; who must be the 'son of the Curopalate Guaram' mentioned by Juansher.

On the basis of the above, the following interpretation of the events in Iberia during the period of 684-748 can be essayed. When Stephen I died in 627, his children, Juansher tells us, 'remained in the rocks of Cholarzene.'<sup>50</sup> The second Curopalate Guaram (first in the above-mentioned passage of the *Royal List*) may easily have been a son of Stephen I; he must have received from the Caliph the Principate of Iberia in 684 (§§ 23, 24). About this time, the Caliphate was passing through a period of internal difficulties following the death of Yazīd I (683) and the opening of the Byzantine offensive under Constantine IV. The conclusion of this offensive was the treaty of 685 between Justinian II and Abdalmalik, which provided, among other things, for a condominium of the two empires in Caucasia: their sharing in the tribute from Armenia and Iberia, and possibly also Albania. In the same year, however, Justinian II broke the peace and succeeded in establishing his suzerainty, to the exclusion of the Caliph, in Armenia, Iberia, and Albania. It was then, when in Armenia the Arab vassal, Ashot II Bagratuni, was replaced by the Imperial appointee Nerses Kamsarakan, with the title of Curopalate, that the Prince of Iberia, Guaram II, must undoubtedly have received the same honour from his new

<sup>50</sup> *Supra* n. 9.

overlord the Emperor. In 691, Justinian II further violated the treaty of 685; and by 693, the tables had been turned: Armenia, as well as, unquestionably, Iberia were lost to the Empire.<sup>51</sup> Guaram III the Younger must have succeeded Guaram II (his father or grandfather) shortly before that date in order to have received the Roman title that Juansher applies to him.

The anarchy that followed in the Empire the end of the Heraclian Dynasty strengthened the Caliph's hold on Caucasia,<sup>52</sup> and in the twenties of the eighth century the Armenian Princes closely collaborated with the Caliphate, in the face of the common menace of the continual Khazar raids from the north, by taking part in its Khazar campaigns;<sup>53</sup> the Prince of Iberia, too, must have been bound by his geographical position to side with the allies. One of such campaigns was that of Marwān ibn Muḥammad of 736. The invasion of Georgia which occurred in the course of it (§ 21) was, if Juansher be read attentively, directed not so much against Iberia as against West Georgia, a dependency of the Empire.<sup>54</sup> Then, in the years 744-750, another, change occurred in the

<sup>51</sup> For the treaty of 685, its breach in Caucasia, its final breach, and the passing of Armenia to the Arabs, see Theophanes, *Chron.* 737-740, 741, 744; for the imposition of Imperial control on Armenia, and its horrors: Leontius 5 (17); for its end: 6 (19). See also Grousset, *Histoire* 307-309; Trever, *Oč.po ist. Alb.* 250; cf. Diehl and Marçais, *Monde oriental* 241-242, 243-244; E.W.Brooks, 'The Successors of Heraclius to 717,' *CMH* 2 406-407; Bréhier, 'Les derniers Héraclides,' *HE* 5 (1947) 202-204; Dowsett, *Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 202 n. 1; Eremyan, *Moisef Kal.* 151-153 (slightly different chronology).

<sup>52</sup> Diehl and Marçais, *op. cit.* 245-247; Brooks, *op. cit.* 410-417. In 696/7, even Lazica was invaded by the Arabs, as its Presiding Prince, the Patrician Sergius, passed to their obedience: Theophanes, *Chron.* 752; cf. *II* n. 355. And the attempts of the Imperial diplomacy, in the second reign of Justinian II (705-711), to undermine, with the help of the Alans, Saracen control of Lazica, (its dependency of) Abkhazia, and also Iberia (the mission of the future Emperor Leo III) failed: Theophanes 789-804. The Khazar invasion of Armenia, in 729 and the following years (Grousset, *Histoire* 315-316), which was doubtless provoked by the diplomatic efforts of Constantinople, must have made possible the reversal of both Lazica and Abkhazia to Imperial control, for in 736, the ruler of the latter country was 'Imperial duke' and the Saracen reprisal for the Khazar invasion — the campaign of Marwān ibn Muḥammad — included a diversion against both Lazica and Abkhazia: *supra* nn. 42, 45. Abkhazia, however, must have been, even before the 730s, sufficiently independent (owing doubtless to distance), though officially under the Caliph's suzerainty, to offer asylum to the Chosroid émigrés, after 681/2: *supra* n. 42.

<sup>53</sup> Grousset *Histoire* 315-317. It is ironical that the Christian Caucasian States should have been the victims of the Byzantine-Khazar alliance directed against the Saracens.

<sup>54</sup> *Supra* nn. 42, 52. The words of Juansher, 239, to the effect that, after the departure of Marwān ibn Muḥammad, the lands of Iberia, Armenia, and Albania were devastated must refer, in so far as Iberia and Armenia are concerned, more to Khazar raids than to Marwān's campaigns. In 737, Marwān conquered from the Khazars trans-Cyran Albania, which from that time became increasingly Muslim; soon *Arrān* (*Rani* = *Aḷuank'*) meant only cis-Cyran Albania (with Partav, i.e. Barḡa'a as capital), whereas the trans-Cyran regions (with Qabala

political orientation of Caucasia. The struggle between the Umayyads and the Abbasids convulsed the Caliphate and coincided with the Byzantine offensive under Leo III and Constantine V, begun with the victory at Acroinon (740) and the invasion of Syria (746).<sup>55</sup> The anti-Arab elements in Caucasia raised their heads. In Armenia, the Romanophile Mamikonids deposed in 748 the Caliph's appointee, Ashot III Bagratuni.<sup>56</sup> It must have been now that the Guaramids, compromised as vassals of the Caliphate since 693, were replaced by the Third Dynasty, represented by Adarnase III, whose title of Curopalate testifies to his pro-Byzantine orientation and to the restoration of Imperial suzerainty in Iberia.<sup>57</sup> It was precisely in 748 that Arch'il the Chosroid returned from the exile, which his house had chosen after the unsuccessful revolt of 681/2 (§ 26). But, either because he returned too late, or because the choice of one of the lesser dynasts instead of a member of the former royal house was more in keeping with the spirit of the increasingly independent great houses of Iberia, the Chosroids did not regain the Principate.

28. In 771, Armenia, which had remained under Saracen suzerainty, once again rose in revolt against the Abbasids whose overlordship had been made unbearable through an oppressive fiscal policy. That revolt, as is well known, ended in the tragic defeat of the Armenian Princes in Bagravandene in 772. Thereafter, 'la domination arabe en Arménie se trouva plus solide que jamais.'<sup>58</sup> It was doubtless as a consequence of these events that Nerse, son of the Curopalate Adarnase III of Iberia, was carried off to Baghdad and kept imprisoned there for three years before 775. With this, Iberia, too, was recovered by the Caliph. Nevertheless, the state of unrest, aided, it seems, by Khazar diplomacy, continued in Caucasia — about 780, Nerse, whom the Arabs had restored in Iberia, had to flee to the Khazars — and in the end provoked the punitive action of Khuzaima ibn Khāzim of 786,<sup>59</sup> which will be discussed below.

29. In the meantime, the chronological table of the Princes of Iberia (§ 23) can be further amplified on the basis of the foregoing remarks, as follows:

#### C. Guaramids (*again*)

VI. Guaram II, Curopalate, 684-c. 693

VII. Guaram III the Younger, Curopalate, c. 693-c. 748

as capital) came to be termed *Širwān*: Krymskij, *Stranicy iz istorii* 300, 289 291; Trever, *Oč.pō ist. Alb.* 250.

<sup>55</sup> Diehl and Marçais, *Monde oriental* 252-253;

<sup>56</sup> Grousset, *Histoire* 317-319; III/III § 7.

<sup>57</sup> Peeters, *Khazars* 32.

<sup>58</sup> Grousset, *Histoire* 334 and 320-334.

<sup>59</sup> Peeters, *Khazars* 31, 33-35, 45-47; cf. *supra* § 25.

## D. Third Dynasty

VIII. Adarnase III, Curopalate, c. 748-c. 760.

IX. Nerse, c. 760-772, 775-779/780

E. Guaramids (*again*)

X. Stephen III, 779/780-786.

## IV. — IBERIAN DYNASTS AND THE ADVENT OF THE BAGRATIDS

30. While the Principate of Iberia was held by the Guaramids (684-c.748), the Chosroids led the life of *émigrés* in West Georgia; upon the replacement of the Guaramids by the Third Dynasty, Arch'il the Chosroid returned to his old appanage of Kakhetia. The marrying off of his nieces must be a symptom, or an allegory, of his making peace with both the holders of the Principate and his Guaramid cousins; his own marriage with a Guaramid princess, another instance of his conciliatory policy (cf. III § 26). Upon the whole, Juansher may be somewhat justified in treating the last Chosroids as Iberian Kings, for, with the decline of the Principate that made its holders practically undistinguishable from the other dynasts, the heads of the former royal house may, after all, have been endued with a certain enhanced prestige.<sup>1</sup>

31. The text of Juansher quoted above (III § 26) presents a list of the great Iberian dynasts of the time, including one from neighbouring Albania. Adding to it the House of Kakhetia, Arch'il's own line, the following is obtained (cf. II §25):

1. The Princes of Kakhetia, the senior line of the Chosroid Dynasty.
2. The Princes of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i, the Guaramid line of the Chosroid Dynasty.
3. The Juansherid Princes of the Chosroid Dynasty, appanaged in Kakhetia and Lower Iberia, the family of the historian Juansher.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arch'il's role in the acquisition of Erušet'i and Artani by the Bagratid Adarnase: *infra* n. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The historian Juanšer is identical, according to a note in the text of the Annals (248) with the dynast to whom Arch'il gave one of his nieces in marriage. The appanges he is said to have received from Arch'il consisted of: the 'mountainous region' or the land of Mt'eulet'i, later Mt'iulet'i (cf. *supra* I at n. 114), in Kakhetia on the frontier of Inner Iberia (Javaxišvili, *K'art' er. ist.* II 302; Vaxušt, *Geogr. Descr.* 222), Juari, which must be the site of the celebrated church of the Holy Cross (*supra* III § 21) east of Mc'xet'a, in or near the Kakhetian land of Saguramo (Javaxišvili 294; Vaxušt 212, 481: No. 9 in Saguramo), Xerki, a canton in Kakhetia, later T'ejmils-Xevi, near Saguramo (Vaxušt 284), Manglisis-Xevi, in Lower Iberia (Javaxišvili 287, 294; Vaxušt 170), and Tiflis, which must be an error of the copyist. Cf. *supra* III n. 46.



4. The Nersianid Dukes of Inner Iberia, the Third Dynasty of the Presiding Princes.<sup>3</sup>

5. The Mihranid Vitaxae of Gogarene, Princes of T'rialet'i, Tashiri, and Abots'i.<sup>4</sup> To these should be added, after 772:

6. The Bagratid Princes of Erushet'i and Artani.<sup>5</sup>

Finally: the neighbouring Mihranid Princes of Gardman (the House of Varzman).<sup>6</sup> It is worth noticing that, excepting the Bagratids and the Nersianids, all these dynasts belonged to different branches of the Mihranid Dynasty; most of them happened to be of Iranian origin.<sup>7</sup> In keeping with the tendency of the Iberian aristocracy to fuse the dynastic and the feudal features (I § 4), these dynasts are called in the sources interchangeably Princes and Dukes.<sup>8</sup>

32. Most of these lineages, including the Chosroids and the Guaramids, ceased to play an important role in Iberian history, either through extinction or through loss of power, between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. Allusion has already been made to the continual insurrections in Caucasia against Abbasid overlordship, especially in connexion with the fiscal measures of the Caliphate (III § 28). This unrest, not unaided by the Khazars, was put down only after a bitter and ruthless struggle. In a penetrating study, the Georgian scholar S. Janashia has analyzed the principal Arab source for these events: the History of Ya'qūbī.<sup>9</sup> The foci of insurgency were Armenia, Iberia (*Ĵurzān*), and Kakhétia (*Šanāriya*); its leaders were the local aristocracies whom Ya'qūbī calls *baḡāriqa* and 'royal children' i.e., the presiding princes (Patricians) and the princely dynasts or *sep'eculn*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *supra* § 26 at n. 47.

<sup>4</sup> For the Vitaxae of Gogarene, see II § 10-11; Appendixes A and B.

<sup>5</sup> See III/III; also *infra* § 34.

<sup>6</sup> See V § 17-20.

<sup>7</sup> For the Mihranids, see I n. 105; II § 11; § 13.9; V § 16; for the Orontids, III; the Nersianids appear to have been purely Iberian. There must have been numerous lesser dynasties left unmentioned by Juanšer; cf. II § 26-26.

<sup>8</sup> Thus, in the list of the Iberian Dukes given by Juanšer (*supra* III n. 46, § 26 text), we find the Guaramids, who, like the Chosroids of Kakhétia, had been styled either Dukes or Princes, since they held old duchies: Cholarzene, Ĵavaxet'i-Cunda (or Kakhétia) (for the original duchies of Iberia cf. I n. 159 and § 18), but they held them as dynastic appanages. The Nersianids are there indeed as Dukes of Inner Iberia. But the Juanšerids held territories that corresponded to no duchy. Evidently, whereas the Crown, at the beginning of its existence, placed at the head of the feudal-administrative 'eristavates,' into which the Realm was divided, some of the greater dynastic princes (*supra* I § 4), now, with the disintegration of the monarchy, the more important princes came to be called *erist'avn* irrespective of their holding any of the old ducal fiefs.

<sup>9</sup> *K kritike* 492-503; cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge* 453-456.

<sup>10</sup> Janashia, *op. cit.* 492-493, 495-496. Although the word *Šanāriya* is derived from the Ca-

As leaders of the revolt, the Caucasian ruling classes were made to bear the brunt of the repression. Ya'qūbī narrates how Khuzaima ibn Khāzim, Viceroy of Caucasia,<sup>11</sup> 'seized the *baṭāriqa* and the royal children, cut off their heads, and [in general] treated them in the worst possible manner'<sup>12</sup> Arabo-Iberian relations are summed up in a passage in the *Chronicle of Iberia* which, after indicating as the causes of the decline of the Chosroid Monarchy, first, the enhancement of Saracen overlordship and the frequent destructive incursions that accompanied it, and, second, the number of Iberian dynasts quarrelling among themselves, adds: 'And if any one appeared among the sons of Vakhtang who was worthy of being king, the Saracens destroyed him; for the Agarenes held the city of Tiflis, made it their abode, and collected a tribute from the land which they called *xaraj*.'<sup>13</sup>

As for the particular activity of Khuzaima ibn Khāzim, only one episode of this wholesale execution, of which the Arabs occasionally showed themselves capable, is recorded in the Georgian sources that we possess, namely, the decollation of St Arch'il. *Čičum* or *Asim*, the name given by the Georgian sources to Arch'il's executioner, stands, we know (III § 21), for Khuzaima ibn Khāzim. The decollation of a Prince of Iberia by *Xazm* is likewise recorded by the Armenian historian Leontius.<sup>14</sup> Khuzaima ibn Khāzim was appointed Viceroy, for the first time, at the very beginning of A.H. 169 (14 July 785/3 July 786) by the Caliph al-Mahdī (775-785), though the executions occurred, according to Leontius, under the Caliph Musa al-Hadī (785-786), most likely in 786, because Ya'qūbī places even the appointment of Khuzaima under Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786-809).<sup>15</sup> Arch'il was not only a 'royal child' i.e., dynast (*sep'ecul*),

nars, a people in northern Kakhetia (cf. Minorsky, *Tiflis* 753; Javaxišvili, *K'art'. er. ist.* II 302-303), it was used by the Arabs to designate Kakhetia in general: Jānašia 496, 497, 499, 501; Markwart, *Streifzüge* 409. The Georgian sources, naturally, avoid this confusion. — For *sep'ecul*, see I at n. 132 and cf. the near-contemporaneous expression *ordik' t'agaworazanc'* ('sons of the royal house'), applied to the Albanian dynasts by Moses Kal. 2.14 (179); for *baṭriq* (pl. *baṭāriqa*), see *supra* III n. 17.

<sup>11</sup> For this office, see *supra* III n. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Ya'qūbī 2.519; cf. Jānašia, *K kritike* 494; also Markwart, *Streifzüge* 456; Peeters, *Khazars* 47-49.

<sup>13</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 250.

<sup>14</sup> Leontius 40 (165-166); also, in Armenia, the martyrdom of Hamazasp and Isaac Arcruni: 40 (162-165).

<sup>15</sup> Ya'qūbī 2.515; cf. Vasmer, *Chronologie d.arab. Statth.* 28-29, 47. It is true that the passage of Ya'qūbī concerning the decapitation of Caucasian dynasts (*supra* at n. 12) is found in connexion with the second viceroyalty of Huzaima, in 802/3-806/7: cf. Vasmer 39-41, 48. During the first viceroyalty, according to Ya'qūbī, Huzaima indeed suppressed the Caucasian insurrection, but no other details are given. There is no warrant, however, for taking Ya'qūbī *au pied de la lettre* and assuming that the executions, including that of Arch'il, took

but also a Kakhetian, i.e., one of the *Ṣanāriya* who were even more insubordinate towards the Caliphate than the Iberians.<sup>16</sup>

Though the local sources mention only isolated instances of Khuzaima's ruthlessness, there can be no doubt that it affected, as is clear from the text of Ya'qūbī, a whole social stratum. It is after that date that we hear no more of the Guaramids and all the other dynasts appear considerably reduced.<sup>17</sup> Leontius speaks of the execution of a *youthful* Prince of Iberia, which can hardly apply to Arch'il who must have been quite old. We may, therefore, accept Fr Peeters's conjecture that the reference here is rather to Stephen III,<sup>18</sup> the last Presiding Prince (*baṭrīq*) of the Third Dynasty. Now, the father of Stephen and husband of Duke Nerse's sister was a certain Duke Gorgen (II § 26). That name, however, does not figure in either Juansher's list of dynasts (*ibid.*) or the *Royal List* (Excursus A). In the latter document, on the other hand, in the position which, it will be seen, might belong to Stephen III's father, we find the reference to a Duke Guram (Guaram), who must be Juansher's 'son of the Curopalate Guaram' (III § 27). Given the confusion between the names Guaram and Gorgen among the Guaramids (Excursus B), one may venture the conjecture that the father of the last Prince of Iberia was none other than the Prince of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i, son of the Curopalate Guaram III. To this the name of Stephen III lends support. In this way, the Guaramids occupied the Principate of Iberia for the third and last time in the person of the last-known member of their house, Stephen III, who reigned from c. 780 to 786.

33. St Arch'il left two sons, John (Iovane or Ivane) and Juansher, and four daughters, Gurandukht, Mary (Mariam), Mihrandukht, and Susan (Shushana or Shushan).<sup>19</sup> With this, Juansher's historical work comes to an abrupt end. The story of the end of the Chosroid house is found in the *Chronicle of Iberia*. After the death of Arch'il, his elder son John emigrated to West Geor-

place only in his second viceroyalty. The combined evidence of Leontius, who is much nearer in time to the events than Ya'qūbī, and the *Mart. Arč'il*, definitely shows that executions accompanied, as might have been expected, the suppression of discontent during Ḥuzaima's first viceroyalty as well.

<sup>16</sup> *Supra* III n. 41; *supra* at n. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Janašia, *K kritike* 498-503.

<sup>18</sup> Peeters, *Khazars* 48-49. In view of the mass character of the Saracen executions, the suggestion of Fr Peeters that the death of Arč'il, as given in the *Mart. Arč'il*, may refer to the death of Stephen III, as found in Leontius, is superfluous: both Stephen and Arč'il were among the victims of Ḥuzaima's destruction of the 'royal children' and the *baṭāriqa*. The manner of execution, moreover, as given in one source differs from that given in the other.

<sup>19</sup> Juansher 244.

gia together with his mother and two of his sisters, whereas Juansher 'remained in the land of Iberia and in Kakhetia' with his two younger sisters.<sup>20</sup> The Dowager Princess returned to East Georgia, but the other *émigré* Chosroids disappear from history, save that the death of John is mentioned in due time.<sup>21</sup> Was Juansher, who in virtue of his elder brother's departure from Iberia must have been his father's successor as head of the Chosroid Dynasty, more than a Dynast of Kakhetia, as the Chronicle seems to imply?<sup>22</sup> After 786, Armenia was not given a Presiding Prince until 806, but was administered directly by the Caliph's representatives.<sup>23</sup> The same situation, unquestionably, was found in Iberia as well. Yet, precisely because the Principate fell into abeyance there, the last Chosroid may well have exercised a certain unofficial leadership in the country. The story of the last scion of the royal house contains also a description of another Khazar raid which took place in 799/800. The Khazars took Juansher captive and were responsible for the death of the Princess Susan.<sup>24</sup> Seven years later (806/7) Juansher returned from his captivity. Now

<sup>20</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 249. We shall see, however, Prince Juanšer's mother back in East Georgia (§ 34). For similar migrations of Armenian Princes to the Imperial territories in West Georgia and elsewhere, after 786, see Grousset, *Histoire* 338-339.

<sup>21</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 251: he died before the establishment of the Kingdom of Abasgia: cf. *supra* III n. 45.

<sup>22</sup> The Khazar *xagan* sent an ambassador to Prince Juanšer (true enough, his mission was not of a political character: the *xagan* wished to marry the Princess Susan): *Chron. Iber.* 249. Also, Leo II of Abasgia assumed the royal style, because 'John was dead and Juanšer was aged': *ibid.* 251.

<sup>23</sup> Grousset, *Histoire* 337-342.

<sup>24</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 249-250. For the date of the Khazar invasion, see Markwart, *Streifzüge* 416; cf. Artamonov, *Ist. Xazar* 251. That the invasion was caused by the refusal of the Princess Susan to marry the heathen *xagan* and that, on being captured along with her brother, she preferred to take poison rather to become the Khazar's wife, may be a variation on a theme in Leontius, 131-133, concerning the marriage of a Khazar princess and the viceroy Yazid ibn Usaid (775/6-779/80: Vasmer, *Chronologie* 27), as thinks Fr Peeters (*Khazars* 51 cf. 33), — or it may not, for there is not much similarity between the two stories. At all events, the authenticity of the invasion itself is beyond doubt: it must have been part of the Khazar-Arab conflict of the moment: Artamonov 249-251. Interestingly enough, the story of Yazid and the Khazar princess was projected to precisely this conflict, by Arab historiography, with the Barmakid Faql in the role of Yazid: *ibid.* The Iberian story of Susan seems however, to contain a basis of truth, for it was the custom of the Khazar sovereigns to claim as wives princesses of dependent States: Artamonov 251. And, in view of frequent Khazar raids on Caucasia, that region may have been regarded by the *xagan* as a part of his cosmocracy. To doubt, with Fr Peeters, the very existence of the personages mentioned in this connexion in the *Chron. Iber.*, because the story in which they were involved may have been a variation on an older theme, is as unwarranted as would be the doubt, for similar reasons, about the existence of Faql ibn Yahya the Barmakid. Oddly, Artamonov, 251, considers the Chosroid John to have been an *eris-m'avar* of Iberia and a grandson of Steph-

the Chosroid Dynasty was represented only by him and his sister Mihrandukht. Our chronicler also records the marriage of Juansher with a Bagratid princess and then his death.<sup>25</sup>

34. The extinction of the Chosroids and the Guaramids and the reduction of the other great dynastic houses of Iberia paved the way for the Bagratid advent to power. At the beginning of the ninth century, however, the Bagratids of Iberia were recent arrivals: a branch of the Armenian line, possessed after c. 780 of the rather unimportant domains of Erushet'i and Artani. Then within the first decade of the century (between 800 and sometime after 806/7), they acquired great princedoms and attained, at the beginning of the second decade, to the restored Principate of Iberia. These successes require an explanation; and the sources at our disposal can supply it.

Three texts from two Georgian historical works constitute the sources for the establishment of the Bagratids in Iberia. Here are these texts:

#### I. Juansher 243

Then a certain prince came to him [*scil.* Arch'il] who was of the House of David the Prophet, Adarnase by name, a grandson of Adarnase [*scil.* Ashot] the Blind; his father was related to the Bagratids and had been set up as duke in the regions of Armenia by the Byzantines. And during the oppression of Qru, he had come to the children of the Curopalate Guaram in Cholarzene and remained there. He petitioned Arch'il, saying: 'If thou wilt, make me as thy vassal: give me land.' And he gave him Shulaveri [*scil.* Erushet'i] and Artani.<sup>26</sup>

#### II. *Chron. Iber.* 251

And this Juansher [son of Arch'il] married a Bagratid wife, daughter of Adarnase the Bagratid, Latavr by name. And his mother disapproved of her being brought to him as wife. For she did not know well that they were the descendants of David the Prophet, who was called the Father of God. And when she saw her son's wife, she loved her, blessed her, and wished her happiness.<sup>27</sup>

en III (the Xth Presiding Prince): this is due to a confusion between this Stephen and his namesake, Arch'il's father.

<sup>25</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 251. The story of the Khazar invasion of 799/800 opens the *Chron. Iber.* Then, by way of recapitulating the background, the chronicler comments on the decline of the Chosroid realm and its causes (*supra* § 32); records the marriage of Juansher; and finally relates the establishment of the Kingdom of Abasgia (*supra* III n. 45) adding 'and after that, Juansher died.' The Kingdom of Abasgia was formed in the nineties of the eighth century; Juansher could have died only after 806/7; and his marriage must have taken place before the 790s.

<sup>26</sup> See III/III n. 21.

<sup>27</sup> ხელად ამაჲს ჯუანშერს შეიწოთა ცოლი • ბაგრატონიანთა, ახული ბაგრატო-

III. *Ibidem*

And after that, Juansher died. But during Juansher's lifetime, Adarnase the Bagratid acquired one-third of Cholarzene, Shavshet'i, Achara, Nigali, Asisp'ori, Artani, and Lower Tao, and, of the castles, those that had belonged to the descendants of King Vakhtang. And Adarnase came to Cholarzene and died there.<sup>28</sup>

These texts raise several problems. In the first place, why did Adarnase seek refuge with a particular princely family, the Guaramids of Cholarzene? It has been suggested (Introduction § 3) that there may have existed ties of kinship binding him with his hosts. And, in effect, there are certain onomastic indications that tend to support this suggestion. His very name of Adarnase makes its first appearance among the Bagratids with his person.<sup>29</sup> But this name, on the other hand, was typical for the Chosroids of whom the Guaramids were a branch, and it was also borne by the Prince of Iberia (Adarnase III) who was reigning at the probable epoch of our Adarnase's birth and who appears to have been related by marriage to the Guaramids (§ 32). Furthermore, of the grandsons of our Adarnase, the eldest, too, bore that name, whereas the youngest was given the Guaramid name *par excellence*: Guaram.<sup>30</sup>

But there are also territorial indications. What can Adarnase's acquisition of one-third of Cholarzene etc. mean, if not a partition between three co-heirs? This is how this has been interpreted in Georgian historiography.<sup>31</sup> But Cholarzene, as well as most of the above-mentioned lands constituted

ნაინისა ადარნასეხი, ხაზელთ ლატავრი, და აბრალა დედამან მიხმან მოყვანება მიხი ცილად: არათურე კეთილად მეცნიერი იყო, რამეოჲ არიან იგინი ნათესავნი დავით წინასწარმეტყუელისანი, რომელი-იგი მამად ღმრთისად იწოდდა. და ვითარ იხილა მიხ ცოლი თჳსი, შეუყუარდა, აკურთხა და დაღოცა. — Q (a) adds: ნათესავი — (b) om. this. — (c) has: ვითარმედ, found in more recent codd. — (d) adds: the M გარცხილად ('according to the flesh'); the above expression = the Greek *θεοπρόσωπον*.

<sup>28</sup> და შემდგომად ამისა ჯუანშერცა მიიღვალა. არამედ ხაგვანსეხსავე ჯუანშერისა იგვალა ადარნასეხ ბაგრატონიანმან ნახაჲალი კლარჯეთისა, შავშეთისა, აჭარისა, ნიგალისა, ახისფორისა, არტანისა და ქუემოცა ტაოცა, და ციხეთაგანცა რომელნი ჰქონდეს შვილისშვილთა განტანგ მეფისათა. და წარვიდა ადარნასეხ კლარჯეთად და მუნ მოკუდა. — For the territorial aspect of this acquisition: V n. 126.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. III/III § 3.

<sup>30</sup> *Bagratids of Iberia* I Nos 5 and 7.

<sup>31</sup> Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 259 n. 5. The fact of Adarnase's acquiring one-third of a group of domains may mean less an actual partition of these territories than the fact of his being one of the co-inheritors of them. It is, of course, not necessary to suppose with Brosset (and Vaxušt), *loc. cit.*, that these coheirs were brothers.



a part of the Guaramid State; the other part of it was Javakhet'i, and we find it as the appanage of Adarnase's grandson Guaram.<sup>32</sup> The castles, too, which Adarnase acquired were a part of that State, because the Guaramids were the only descendants of King Vakhtang in western Iberia, the Chosroids being appanaged with Kakhetia. The text, moreover, states that this acquisition took place *during the lifetime of Juansher*. Since he and his sister Mihrandukht were the only representatives of the old royal dynasty, the above statement can be taken as an indication that the two last Chosroids were the other of the three coheirs of the Guaramid State. Indeed, their mother, St Archil's consort, was a daughter of the Curo-palate Guaram III;<sup>33</sup> and the settlement in question occurred not long after the disappearance of the Guaramids from history. Then, after the extinction of the Chosroids (the death of Mihrandukht is not, however, recorded in our sources), the Bagratids, in the person of Adarnase's son Ashot the Great, appear in possession of the entirety of the Guaramid State.<sup>34</sup> All this can only mean that Adarnase, too, was descended in the female line from the Guaramids and thus inherited from them both the *praenomina* and (jointly with the Chosroids at first) the patrimonies. But this might still be sheer conjecture, if Text II did not lend it what appears to be a striking support.

This text tells of how Juansher's mother disapproved of his marriage with Adarnase's daughter, because she was not aware of the Davidic origin claimed by the Bagratids. At first glance the meaning of the text seems to be that the mother of the head of the former royal house of Iberia, ignorant of the distinction of the Bagratid Dynasty, did not find his marriage with a princess of that dynasty as sufficiently brilliant. But, if this interpretation be accepted, difficulties must face us. How will one explain, in the first place, that a Guaramid princess should have been ignorant of the antiquity and position of the Bagratids, whose connexion of one kind or another with her own house is indicated elsewhere? How could any member of the Caucasian aristocracy of the day be unaware of the importance of the Bagratid race? And even, were this so, can the eleventh-century chronicler to whom we owe this text, writing at the moment of the apogee of the power of the Bagratids of Georgia, be expected to dare to insinuate that at a certain moment not long past, a Bagratid alliance was looked askance at in Iberia? All this is utterly improbable.

There must, obviously, be another interpretation of this text, one which may throw light upon the problem of the Bagratid-Guaramid relationship, rather

<sup>32</sup> Merč'ule 42 (119); *Chron. Iber.* 257.

<sup>33</sup> *Supra* III at n. 49.

<sup>34</sup> V § 21.

than obscure it, and may harmonize all the fragments of information that exist regarding it. Such an interpretation is possible, and it is as follows: The text in question can also mean that the mother of Juansher objected to his marriage with the Bagratid princess, not because she was not aware of her high birth and consequently considered her unworthy of her son, but, on the contrary, because, knowing her origin too well, she objected to the *consanguinity* which might exist between the husband and wife. That this interpretation is correct is borne out by the third sentence in our text. The meaning of it is not that the Dowager Princess did not know of the illustriousness of the Bagratids, which as a Guaramid she could not help knowing, but rather that she was unaware of their, then recent, Davidic claim or at least of another, very interesting, pretension which derived from that claim. The Bagratids, in their quality of descendants of David, King and Prophet, claimed exemption from the laws of the Church regarding consanguinity as an impediment of marriage. We have an explicit testimony to the existence of this pretension — implicit in Bagratid genealogy — in the *De administrando imperio* of the Emperor Constantine VII. Speaking of the Curopalates of Iberia, the Emperor says that they

— vaunt themselves saying that they are descended from the wife of Urias, with whom the Prophet and King David committed adultery, for they profess to be the descendants of the children borne by her to David and to be of the family of the Prophet and King David and also of the Most Holy Mother of God, for she was issued from the seed of David. Because of this, the Iberian princes marry their relatives without impediment, deeming themselves to keep Old Law.<sup>35</sup>

When once Juansher's mother knew of the existence of what may be called 'the Bagratid privilege,' her scruples regarding the marriage must have vanished. The validity of this interpretation is in the fact that it avoids the grave difficulties of its alternative and that it brings into harmony all the onomastic and territorial indications of a Bagratid-Guaramid kinship mentioned above.

<sup>35</sup> *De adm. imp.* 45 (204): 'Ιστέον, ὅτι ἑαυτοὺς σεμνύνοντες οἱ Ἰβήρηες, ἡγουν οἱ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς κατάρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐρλίου, τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ, τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως μοιχευθείσης· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντων παιδῶν τῷ Δαυίδ ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν κατάρχεσθαι καὶ συγγενεῖς εἶναι Δαυίδ, τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως καὶ ὥς ἐκ τούτου καὶ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαυίδ ταύτην κατάρχεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀκωλύτως τὰς συγγενίδας αὐτῶν πρὸς γάμον ἄγουσιν, τὴν παλαιὰν οἰόμενοι φυλάττειν νομοθεσίαν. — 'Iberian princes' translates οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῶν Ἰβήρων, because Constantine speaks obviously only of the Bagratids. The opening words of the chapter and, in fact, of the passage leave no doubt that by 'Iberians' the *Bagratids* of Iberia are meant. For the Davidic claim see III/II § 16-17.

In view of what has been said, the kinship of Latavr and Juansher must have been very close. Since a Chosroid name among the Bagratids first appears with Adarnase, it may be supposed that his mother was a princess of the Chosroid Dynasty, either of its royal or its Guaramid line. Since the kinship of Latavr and Juansher was close enough to appear as an impediment to their marriage, it is here conjectured that Adarnase's mother was a sister of Juansher's mother and so another daughter of the Curopalate Guaram III. Accordingly, Juansher the Chosroid and Adarnase the Bagratid may have been first cousins; and Latavr, her husband's first cousin once removed: a close blood-relationship indeed. Arch'il's widow was thus objecting to her son's marrying her nephew's daughter, which is quite understandable. The acceptance of this conjecture would explain perfectly the difficulties in connexion with that marriage. It would, moreover, explain why Adarnase came to the Guaramids of Cholarzene. In this light, too, his acquisition of Erushet'i and Artani, also parts of the Guaramid State,<sup>36</sup> might be seen as an inheritance of his mother's dowry, for which the agreement of his uncle-by-marriage Arch'il would have been necessary. With the disappearance of Stephen III in 786, the children of his two aunts — one, the wife of St Arch'il; the other, the wife of Vasak Bagratuni, Adarnase's father — became the heirs of the Guaramids. At the epoch when the partition of the Guaramid inheritance took place, there were indeed only three heirs: Juansher, his sister Mihrandukht, and their cousin Adarnase. With the passing of the first two, the entire inheritance devolved upon the Bagratids, and we see Ashot the Great in possession of all the Guaramid principalities.

35. Finally, the Bagratids gathered still another Guaramid heritage: the Principate of Iberia. Through his acquisition of the Guaramid State, Ashot the Great became the most powerful prince in Iberia, especially since the other princely houses had suffered diminution in 786. And so, in 813, the Caliphate, paralyzed by internecine strife and anxious to secure the support of the Bagratids against the rising Saracen independencies in Caucasia, appointed Ashot to be Prince of Iberia, as it had appointed in 806 his Armenian cousin, Ashot IV, to the Principate of Armenia. And the Emperor, in turn, desirous of counterbalancing the influence of the Caliphate in Caucasia, conferred upon him the dignity of Curopalate. Of these two dignities, the first became hereditary and the second quasi-hereditary in the house of Ashot the Great. Thus the Bagratids succeeded in combining the two hitherto conflicting allegiances and then raised the mighty edifice of the mediaeval kingdom of United Georgia.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> V § 12.

<sup>37</sup> The ninth century saw the disintegration of Iberia's unity and the rise of three political

EXCURSUS A. — THE ROYAL LIST OF THE CONVERSION OF IBERIA  
AND SUMBAT'S HISTORY OF THE BAGRATIDS

The name *Royal List* is used in this study to designate the series of brief notices on the Kings and Princes of Iberia (as well as on the Iberian Primates) found together with the *Conversion of Iberia*, which dates in its original form from the seventh century and which has reached us in the Shatberdi Codex of the year 973/6 and in the Chelishi Codex of the fourteenth century (Introduction § 2). The *Royal List* itself consists in fact of three such lists, one preceding the story of the Conversion itself (and preceded, in turn, by the story of Alexander's legendary invasion of Iberia), the two others following it. Very probably the first two lists constitute one work which has been broken in two through the insertion into it, in the chronologically due place, of the story of the Conversion. Thus, what goes under the name of *Conversion of Iberia* is composed of the following five parts: (1) the (legendary) story of Alexander's invasion of Iberia — which we may call *Primary History of Iberia*; (2) the brief chronicle of the Kings of Iberia from the fourth century B. C. to the Conversion — which we may call *Royal List, Part One*; (3) the story of the Conversion itself; (4) the second brief chronicle of the Kings, Presiding Princes, and Chief Prelates of Iberia, from the fourth century to Heraclius's invasion of Iberia — the *Royal List, Part Two*; and (5) the briefer List of the Presiding Princes and Katholikoi of Iberia, as well as of other, lesser dynasts, brought down to the ninth century.<sup>1</sup> The late ninth-century *Life of St Nino*, appended to this work, does not concern us here. Fr Tarchnišvili considers the first four parts as forming in language and style one whole with the story of the Conversion and he accepts Professor T'qaishvili's verdict that the latter story belongs to the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> We may wonder, however, to what an extent the precision of the above dating may have been due to the fact that the *Royal List, Part Two* ends at the time of the Emperor Heraclius's warfare in Caucasia. At all events, I cannot escape the contrary impression that the comparatively ample narrative of the *Primary History* and of the *Conversion*

formations on its territory: the Saracen enclave of Tiflis, dominating Inner Iberia, was soon to become an independent emirate; Kakhetia, which with the extinction of the Chosroids became quite distinct from the rest of Iberia and was now ruled by its own presiding princes bearing the curious style of *k'orikoz* (*chorepiscopus*); and the Bagratid princedoms in western (Upper) Iberia, the Guaramid inheritance. In addition to these, there was, in West or Pontic Georgia, the powerful Kingdom of Abasgia. Cf. Javakhišvili, *K'art'. er. ist.* II 369-371.

<sup>1</sup> Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Literatur* 406; cf. *Introd.* at nn. 48-49.

<sup>2</sup> Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Literatur* 406.

proper contrasts strongly with the laconic brevity of the two parts of the *Royal List*. Whatever stylistic unity can be detected in the whole of the compilation may easily be due to the unity of its final redaction. It is highly probable, moreover, that only the story of the Conversion is attributable to Gregory the Deacon.<sup>3</sup> At all events, the *Royal List*, at least in its Parts Two and Three, cannot, as we shall see, be anterior to the ninth century.

Modern Georgian historians, impressed by the antiquity of the *Conversion* and of the *Primary History*, have been inclined to attribute a greater authority to the *Royal List* than is warrantable.<sup>4</sup> Before examining Part Two of the List, it must be pointed out that Part One does not appear in a very favourable light when compared with the series of the Kings of Iberia, of the same period as is covered by it, which is given by Leontius of Ruisi in his eighth-century *History of the Kings of Iberia*. A few examples will show this. The Kings called Arshak (I and II) by Leontius<sup>5</sup> are in the *Royal List* called Arsok and Arsuk, respectively.<sup>6</sup> The latter forms are obvious disfigurements of the former word, which is the royal Arsacid name *κατ' ἐξοχήν*: by it, the Iberian historical tradition was wont to designate the Artaxiad Kings of Iberia who, in reality bore the name of Artaxias or Artashēs.<sup>7</sup> Arshak-Artaxias I's son is called Artag by Leontius,<sup>8</sup> but appears as Arik in the *Royal List*.<sup>9</sup> Again, Leontius's version is the correct one, for this king is known as *Ἀρτώκης*<sup>10</sup> or *Ὀτώκος*<sup>11</sup> to Classical writers. Finally, the king whom Leontius calls Armazael<sup>12</sup> (though the corrupt variants 'Amazar' and 'Amza[h]er' are also found), is given by the List the corrupt name-form of Amazaer.<sup>13</sup> This sovereign is the counterpart of King Azork in the spurious Diarchy of Iberia in the first century.<sup>14</sup> Actually, 'Armazael' is the territorial epithet of King Azork 'of Ar-

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 87-88.

<sup>4</sup> In his *K'art'li. er. ist.* I, for instance, the late Prof. Javakishvili, dean of the Georgian historians, invariably refers to the *Roy. List* as the *Conversion of Iberia* (*k'art'lis mok'c'evis matiane*) and adduces its evidence before that of either Leont. Mrov. or Juanšer. This tends to weaken some of his arguments.

<sup>5</sup> Leont. Mrov. 28-30, 38-35. Because of the confusion frequent in early Georgian texts between the letters *b* and *š*, which resemble each other in the ecclesiastical minuscules, the name of the kings in question is written in the codd. *Arbak*.

<sup>6</sup> *Roy. List* I 49.

<sup>7</sup> See I n. 103.

<sup>8</sup> Leont. Mrov. 30.

<sup>9</sup> *Roy. List* I 49.

<sup>10</sup> Cassius Dio, *Hist. rom.* 37.1.

<sup>11</sup> Appian, *Bell. mithr.* 103.

<sup>12</sup> Leont. Mrov. 45-50, 100.

<sup>13</sup> *Roy. List* I 50.

<sup>14</sup> For the Diarchy, see II Appendix B.

mazi,' whom the subsequent historical tradition split into two parallel monarchs: Azork, indeed of Armazi, and Armazael, of Mts'khet'a.<sup>15</sup> Once again, Leontius produces the correct form, and the *Royal List* a corrupt one, of a royal name. This, I submit, tends to present Part One of the List as less reliable than Leontius. And if it be one with Part Two, it must be, as will be seen, less ancient also.

Passing now to Part Two, we notice indications that the compiler of the *Royal List* derived some of his data from Leontius and, moreover, from Juansher's *History of King Vakhtang Gorgasal* (c. 790/800). These indications are as follows. (1) The reign of King Bacurius III of Iberia († 580) is recorded in the List in the following terms: 'And after him [i.e., Pharasmanes VI] Bacurius was King, and Macarius was Katholikos. And under him Varsk'en was Vitaxa, and he martyred Susan at Ts'urtavi.'<sup>16</sup> The reference to the martyrdom of St Susan (17 October 475) at the hands of her Mazdaizing husband, the Vitaxa Varsk'en of Gogarene, in the reign of Bacurius III is an egregious anachronism. As is well known, it occurred under Vakhtang I (c. 446-552)<sup>17</sup> This misplaced entry betrays the List's dependence on Juansher, in whose History the same anachronism is found. But there the misplacement is due to a confusion in the mind of a redactor (or, possibly, even the author) which is explicable by the nature of the text itself: — by the identity of the name — Hormisd — of two Great Kings mentioned in it, one a contemporary of Vakhtang I, the other of Bacurius III.<sup>18</sup> No such reason for the misplacement of the reference to Varsk'en and Susan is found in the *Royal List*. Quite obviously, its compiler blindly followed, and abridged, the text of Juansher.<sup>19</sup> (2) This indication, also, concerns the Vitaxae. The *Royal List* qualifies as Vitaxae three Iranian lords who had no claim to that title. The Iranian commander who entered Iberia under King Varaz-Bak'ar (Aspacures),<sup>20</sup> while termed simply *erist'av* by Leontius of Ruisi,<sup>21</sup> is entitled Vitaxa by the List.<sup>22</sup> The same is true of the Iranian general who captured King Mithridates IV: *erist'av* in Leontius,<sup>23</sup> Vitaxa in the List.<sup>24</sup> Finally, the Iranian viceroy of Al-

<sup>15</sup> Melikset-Bekov, *Armazni* 31.

<sup>16</sup> *Roy. List* 63; cf. *supra* I § 6; II Appendix A II (6).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Literatur* 83-86.

<sup>18</sup> II Appendix A II (6).

<sup>19</sup> Javakhišvili, *K'art. er. ist.* I 240 n. 3, notes the error of the *Roy. List* (which he calls *Conversion of Iberia*) without perceiving its cause.

<sup>20</sup> V § 11 at nn. 99-109.

<sup>21</sup> Leont. Mrov. 137: no name of the commander is given.

<sup>22</sup> *Roy. List* II 60: *k'ram-xuar-bor-zard, sparst'a mep'isa pitiaxši*.

<sup>23</sup> Leont. Mrov. 138: his name is given as *up'rob, ubaraš* (C), *upraab* (M), *ubarab* (V).

<sup>24</sup> *Roy. List* II 61: *pitiaxšman varaš* — a variant of the same name as in Leont. Mrov.; see *supra* n. 5 for the confusion of *b* and *š*.



bania, the father of King Vakhtang Gorgasal's mother, Barzabod, is entitled *erist'av* in Juansher<sup>25</sup> and, again, Vitaxa in the List.<sup>26</sup> These personages had no genealogical connexion with the house of the Vitaxae of Gogarene,<sup>27</sup> but — and this is important — they had for the compiler of the *Royal List* a conceptual connexion with it. The story of the Vitaxa Varsk'en, misplaced out of the first part of the *History of King Vakhtang Gorgasal* — HVG *par excellence* — into Juansher's latter part, contains the interesting information to the effect that, in recompense for his apostasy, the Vitaxa was appointed viceroy of Albania<sup>28</sup>. Furthermore, according to Leontius, P'eroz, the ancestor of the Second Dynasty of Gogarene, to which Varsk'en belonged, was likewise a Viceroy of Albania.<sup>29</sup> The viceroyalty of Albania must, accordingly, have become associated in the mind of the compiler of the List with the dignity of Vitaxa; he, consequently, bestowed that dignity upon the *erist'av* Barzabod of Leontius and, more than that, upon all the other Iranian *erist'avn* that he found in the work of that historian.

The dependence of the *Royal List, Part Two* (and, possibly, of Part One also) on Juansher<sup>30</sup> means that its date of compilation must lie between 790/

<sup>25</sup> HVG 141.

<sup>26</sup> *Roy. List II* 61. Cf. V § 18.

<sup>27</sup> Collaterally, of course, there was a connexion between Barzabod and the Vitaxae, both being Mihranids: V § 16-18.

<sup>28</sup> See II Appendix A II (6).

<sup>29</sup> V § 16 and n. 158.

<sup>30</sup> The *Roy. List* contains a number of other similarities with the text of Juanšer which apart from the community of subject matter, can be explained either by a source in common or by direct borrowing. Thus, e.g., Juanšer states that Guaram I 'began the church of the Holy Cross' (221) and, a little later (222) that he 'renewed the foundation of the Sion [Cathedral] of Tiflis' (იწყო ეკლესია ჯუარისა პატიოხნისა ... განააზლა ხადუშველი ტფილისისა ზიონისა); these two facts are fused together in the *Roy. List*, where it is said that Guaram 'laid the foundation of the Holy Cross' (დადგა ხადუშველი პატიოხნისა ჯამ: 64). Juanšer mentions that, under Stephen I, 'Mc'xet'a grew less and Tiflis waxed strong, Armazi lay in ruins and Kala was built up' (მცხეთას მოაკლდებოდა და ტფილისი განმლიერდებოდა, არმაზი აღოგრდებოდა და კალა აშენდებოდა: 223. But M has: მცხ. მოაკლ. და კალა აღშენდებოდა, ტფილ. განმლ. და არმ. აღოზნდებოდა = 'Armazi grew empty'); this sentence in a slightly altered form: 'Mc'xet'a grew empty and Tiflis was built up, Armazi diminished and Kala was exalted' (მცხეთაი ათხელდებოდა და ტფილისი ეშენებოდა, არმაზნი შემცირდებოდა და კალაი განდიდნებოდა is found in the *Royal List*, before the accession of Guaram I (64), and it is followed immediately, still preceding the latter event, by the words: 'The Iranians dominated Iberia, Armenia, Siunia, and Vaspurakan' (ზპარხნი უფლებდეს ქართლს, და ზომზითს, და ზიგნიეთს და გუახპურაგანს) reminiscent of those found in Juanšer (*supra* I n. 114) which indeed precede Guaram's accession. Then, the *Roy. List's* version of the capture by Jibgu of the commander of the fortress of Tiflis (Kala; cf. *supra* III n. 7), his flaying the latter and sending his skin to Heraclius in Gardabani is taken almost verbatim from Juanšer (225-226)

800 and 973/6, when the Shatberdi Codex, in which the *Primary History*, the *Conversion of Iberia*, and the *Royal List* are contained, was copied.<sup>31</sup> Through a curious error, the List makes Stephen I survive the capture of Tiflis by the Emperor Heraclius's Khazar allies in 627 and continue his principate; exactly as it makes the Katholikos Bartholomew govern the Iberian Church 'a second time,' — another indication that the List is not an altogether reliable monument.<sup>32</sup>

The still briefer List of rulers brought down to the ninth century — we may call it the *Royal List, Part Three* — appears to be a later addition.<sup>33</sup> One passage in it, in particular, illustrates its confusion and unreliability. It consists of what purports to be the series of the successors of Stephen II in the Principate of Iberia and is as follows:

And after him, Guaram the Curopalate was Duke — 6; and Guaram the Younger — 7; and then Arshusha the Curopalate — 8; and Varaz-Bakur the ex-Consul and Patrician, who converted the Gardabanians — 9; and then Nerse and his sons: Philip — 11; Stephen — 12; Adrnese 13; Guram — 14; and Bakureani, son of Baldad — 15; and the sons of Adrnese: Stephen — 16; and Ashot the Curopalate — 17; and Guaram. Thus they were great Dukes.<sup>34</sup>

We find in this passage various dynasts of eastern Caucasia presented as Presiding Princes of Iberia and various unrelated contemporaries shown as close relatives, whereas their true kinship is overlooked. The two Guarams are, indeed, the VIth and the VIIth Princes of Iberia (III § 27, 29). Arshusha is Arshusha VI, Vitaxa of Gogarene, but neither a Curopalate nor a Prince of Iberia.<sup>35</sup> Varaz-Bakur the ex-Consul and Patrician is, most likely, the ex-Con-

except that the List (65) adds, after 'Gardabani,' 'to Varaz-Gregory's' (გარაზ გროგო-ლოხსა შიხა). Finally, the List repeats, again almost verbatim, (66) Juanšer's statement about the passing away of three Katholikoi, Iovane, Babila, and T'abor, under Adarnase I (228).

<sup>31</sup> The fact that the *Roy. List II* brings the history of Iberia down to the seventh century (the campaigns of Heraclius) need not be taken as indicative of its composition. The History of Leontius of Ruisi, for instance, is brought down to the fifth century, but it was written in the eighth century.

<sup>32</sup> *Roy. List. II* 66.

<sup>33</sup> Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Literatur* 406.

<sup>34</sup> *Roy. List III* 66-67: და მიხა შემდგომად ერისთავად გუარამ კურაპალატი — 6; და გუარამ ერმა — 7; და მერმე არშუშა კურაპალატი — 8; და გარაზ ბაკურ აბაი პატრიკიონი რწ გარ[და]ბანელნი მოაქცინა — 9; და მერმე ნერსე და ძენი მიხნი: ფილიპე — 11; სტეფანოზ — 12; ადრნესე — 13; გურამ — 14; ბაკურეანი ძმ ბალდადი — 15; და ძენი ადრნესეხნი: სტეფანოზ — 16; და აშოტ კურაპალატი — 17; და გუარამ. დიდნი ერისთავნი ებთენ იყვნენ. — The numerals are found only in this passage. The punctuation is mine. Nerse must be No. 10.

<sup>35</sup> *Supra* III § 27; II Appendix A II (11).

sul and Patrician Varaz-Tiridates I, Prince of Albania (c. 681-699, 704-?);<sup>36</sup> by his conversion 'of the Gardabanians' the *Royal List* must be referring to the attempt to embrace the Catholic Faith, during his absence at Constantinople, by his wife Spram and by the Katholikos of Albania, Nerses-Bakur, formerly Bishop of Gardman (in Georgian, *Gardabani*),<sup>37</sup> Albania and Gardman being of the Armenian, anti-Chalcedonian, persuasion.<sup>38</sup> Nerse and his sons, Philip, Stephen, Adrnesse, and Guram present a genealogical imbroglio. (1) Nerse and his son Adrnesse are — and this appears to be another trace of the List's dependence on Juansher's History — the same as Nerse Nersiani and Adarnese Adarnesiani (III § 25), i.e., the VIIIth and IXth Princes of Iberia (*ibid.* and § 29). (2) Philip and Stephen, sons of Nerse on the other hand, must be (a) Stephen, Prince of Albania (end of the eighth century), grandson of Prince Nerseh, and (b) Philip (apparently, Philip, Prince of Siunia, † 848), whose son Nerseh killed in 821 his relative Varaz-Tiridates II of Albania, son of Stephen.<sup>39</sup> (3) Guram, the dynast in the generation of the IXth Prince of Iberia (Nerse) and one generation back of the Xth Prince (Stephen III), occupies the place in the List which should belong to Duke Gurgun, brother-in-law of the former and father of the latter (III § 25). This suggests that both names, Guram and Gurgun, apply to one person,<sup>40</sup> and that Guram-Gurgun, father of Stephen III, was the Guaramid Prince of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i, who may or may not have married (previously) a niece of St Arch'il (III § 26). Bakureani, son of Baldad, seems to escape identification. The name Bakureani, i.e., Bacurid, may suggest his belonging to the dynasty of Gardman-Albania.<sup>41</sup> Finally, Adrnesse and his sons, Stephen, Ashot, and Guaram, present still another confusion. Stephen is, of course, the already-mentioned Xth Prince of Iberia (III § 25, 29; IV § 32), son of Gu(a)ram-Gurgun of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i and nephew of the IXth Prince Nerse (= Atr-nerse, Adrnesse). On the other hand, the Curopalate Ashot was the son of another Adarnese, the first Bagratid prince to settle in Iberia (confused by the List with the IXth Prince) and nephew of Gu(a)ram-Gurgun on his mother's side (IV § 34). The last name belongs to Guaram, youngest son of the Curopalate Ashot. In spite of the truly fantastic intricacy of this Gordian knot, threads of valuable historical evidence can be unravelled from it.

The *History of the Bagratids* of Sumbat, son of David, is a most valuable monument, based on now lost archival and historiographic material, for the

<sup>36</sup> Moses Kaj. 2.36; 37, 38, 39, 43; cf. Dowsett, *Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 149 n. 1, 202 n. 2.

<sup>37</sup> See V § 19.

<sup>38</sup> Moses Kaj. 3.3-11, 23. There may be also a reminiscence of Varaz-Gregory's conversion in 628: V § 17 n. 171.

<sup>39</sup> Moses Kaj. 3.19, 22.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *infra* Excursus B.

<sup>41</sup> See V § 18 n. 18 189a.

history of the Bagratids and the rising Georgian State, between the Curopalate Ashot the Great and King Bagrat III.<sup>42</sup> The part of this work, however, which treats of the period antecedent to Ashot the Great is replete with glaring errors. The most important of these errors is Sumbat's version of the genealogy of the great Curopalate. More than a mere genealogical treatise, this part of Sumbat's work is an ideological declaration, which, in the course of history, has influenced the political *Weltanschauung* of the Georgian Bagratids and even of other dynasties related to them. This Bagratid ideology is contained in their claim to a Davidic descent — a descent from King David the Prophet, the ancestor of Our Lord, the Archetype of Kings, and himself a descendant, in an unbroken line, of Adam — which made the House of Georgia the oldest and the most *natural* royal dynasty in the world. Sumbat's production, however, is not the starting point, but a culmination and fullest development of the Davidic tradition.<sup>43</sup>

Exactly how that descent was traced in the ninth century — at the time of Adarnase and Ashot the Great — we know not. But we can follow the evolution of the details of it in the succeeding centuries. For the tenth century, there is the account of the Emperor Constantine VII, who offers a rather anachronistically schematic version, which deduces the Iberian Bagratids from King David's offspring by the wife of Urias.<sup>44</sup> In the eleventh century, Sumbat propounds a different version. All anachronism is gone. Instead, he produces a carefully worked out genealogy: from Adam to King David, from King David, through Solomon, to St Joseph and St Cleophas, and from St Cleophas to a certain Solomon, descended from him in the twenty-seventh generation. A large part of this stemma is based on the Bible: Gen., Par. 1 and 2, Matt.<sup>45</sup> Solomon had seven sons who arrived in Armenia and were baptized by Queen (or Princess) Rachel. Four of these sons went to Iberia; one of them, Guaram, was set up as Duke there after the kingship of the House of Gorgasal had become extinct; and the Emperor conferred upon him the dignity of Curopalate.<sup>46</sup> Guaram was followed as Duke by his son Stephen; the latter, by his son Adarnase; and he, by his son Stephen.<sup>47</sup>

Beginning with Guaram I's rule, Sumbat is based on the *Royal List* and, possibly, also on Juansher. Whole sentences are borrowed by him from the

<sup>42</sup> *Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.* 154-156.

<sup>43</sup> See III/II § 16-17.

<sup>44</sup> *Supra* IV at n. 35, and the continuation of this text: *De adm. imp.* 204-206.

<sup>45</sup> Sumbat 336-338; cf. *Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.* 155; Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 217 n. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Sumbat 338-340. Needless to say, Queen or Princess (*dedop'al* can signify either) Rachel (*Rak'ael*) is wholly unknown in history (Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.*, I/1 218 n. 3), and must be of Sumbat's invention.

<sup>47</sup> Sumbat 340-342.

former source; but he inserts passages and introduces changes in the borrowed material (such as the link of filiation between Stephen I and Adarnase I) in keeping with his own version of the origin of the Georgian Bagratids.<sup>48</sup> The subsequent portion of the genealogy, down to Ashot the Great, is based almost verbatim on the concluding part of the *Royal List*, except for the characteristic alterations. Below are both these passages:

*The Royal List (66-67)*

And after him, Guaram the Curopalate was Duke — 6 ... and Varaz-Bakur the ex-Consul and Patrician, who converted the Gardabanians — 9; and then Nerse and his sons: Philip — 11; Stephen — 12; Adrnese — 13; Guram — 14; ... and the sons of Adrnese: Stephen — 16; and Ashot the Curopalate — 17; and Guaram.

*Sumbat, Hist. Bagr. (342)*

And after this Stephen, his son Guaram the Curopalate was Duke; and after him, his son Varaz-Bakur the Proconsular Patrician, who converted the Gardabanians; and then Nerse and his sons: Philip and Stephen and Adarnase; and his sons: Duke Gurgen [and] Ashot the Curopalate.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> In addition to following very closely the narrative of the *Roy. List*. (except where he introduces his own information), Sumbat borrows verbatim, or nearly so, whole sentences from it. Thus: (1) at the beginning of Guaram I's story (338), the *Roy. List*'s words about the decline of Mc'xet'a etc. and the Iranian domination of Iberia etc. (*supra* n. 30) are reproduced (except that after 'Iberia,' Sumbat inserts 'Kakhetia, Heret'i'); — (2) the same, in connexion with Guaram's laying the foundation of the church of the Holy Cross: 339 (cf. *supra* n. 30; except that instead of *patiosnisa juarisa* of the List, Sumbat has: *juarisa eklesiassa*); — (3) in relating Jibgn's skinning alive the commander of the fortress of Tiflis and sending his skin to the Emperor (cf. *supra* III n. 7; *infra* n. 53), Sumbat (341) uses the same words (though slightly differently ordered and with a few additions) as the *Royal List* (65); — (4) the same, in connexion with the story of the recovery of Jerusalem by Heraclius, his return to Iberia and extermination of the Mazdaists, down to the end of the reign of Stephen I, whom — oddly — both Sumbat and the List make survive the capture of Tiflis and whom both qualify as 'the Great': *Roy. List* 65-66; Sumbat 341; — (5) the same, in connexion with Stephen II's residing at Tiflis, the Katholikoi Samuel and Evnon, the census taken by the Imperial government in Iberia, and the arrival of the news of the Saracen capture of Ctesiphon ('Baghdad'): *Roy. List* 66; Sumbat 342. On the other hand, Sumbat's account of the campaign of Heraclius in Iberia and of the capture of Tiflis (340-341) is much closer to the work of Juanšer (223-225) than to the *Roy. List* (64-65), though it shows no traces of direct borrowing from it and, contrary to it, represents, together with the List, Stephen I as surviving that campaign. Also, whereas Juanšer refers to the Emperor either as *keisar*: ('Caesar') or as *mep'e* ('King'), the other two works call him by the less ancient term: *berjent'a mep'e* ('King of the Byzantines,' i.e., 'Greeks').

<sup>49</sup> For the text of the *Roy. List*, cf. *supra* n. 34. Sumbat's is as follows: და ამის ბრე-  
ფანდუნიხა შემდგომად ერისთავიდა მე მიხი გუარამ კურატპალატი; და შემდ-  
გომად მიხსა ვარაზბაკურ მე მიხი ანთიპატრიგოზი რომელმან გარბანელნი  
მოაქცივნა; და მერმე ნერსე და ძენი მიხნი: ფილიპე და ბრეტფანდუნი და ადარ-  
ნახე; და ძენი მიხნი: გურგენ ერისთავი, აშოტ კურატპალატი<ხა>.

Thus, Sumbat's version is merely a further distortion of the historical truth. Guaram the Younger (III) is omitted by him, and also Guaram of Javakhet'i, who appears in his work much later, among the sons of Ashot the Great, when that work becomes serious and trustworthy. Of the extraneous figures of the *Royal List*, Arshusha VI of Gogarene and Bakureani, son of Baldad, are likewise omitted. To the data of the List, Sumbat adds the erroneous statements that Guaram II was a son of Stephen II and that Varaz-Bakur was a son of Guaram II. Varaz-Bakur's title is also altered: instead of ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικίος (*apay patrikiozi*) he is entitled ἀνθύπατος (καὶ) πατρικίος (*ant'ipatrikosi*).<sup>50</sup> Finally, Guram, according to the List Nerse's fourth son, is presented under the name of Gurgen and as Ashot the Great's elder brother. Sumbat must have been aware of the fact that Gu(a)ram's other name was Gurgen (Excursus B). Since the version of Sumbat respecting Ashot the Great's ancestry is a mere adaptation of two older sources: Juansher (possibly) and the *Royal List* (dependent, in turn, on Juansher) and since it represents a corruption of the one and a further adulteration of the other source, it is quite devoid of any historical worth.

The aim of Sumbat in constructing this artificial genealogy is not difficult to guess. The Bagratid Dynasty, to which he may himself have belonged, was anxious to avoid all mention of its recently foreign extraction at the moment when it was leading the rising Georgian State from national unification to pan-Caucasian expansion (eleventh century).<sup>51</sup> On other hand, the Bagratids were unwilling to give up their Davidic claim and all it implied, a claim which they had made their own for at least two centuries. Sumbat's version was aimed to satisfy both these conditions. In the first place, the Iberian Bagratids were grafted by him, as it were, from the — foreign — parental trunk upon a local one. This operation was facilitated by the fact (established in IV § 34) that they were actually descended, *in the female line*, from a local Iberian dynasty, namely, the Guaramids to whose lands and offices they had succeeded. All that Sumbat had to do was to represent the female as the male descent. In this the *Royal List* aided him. It has been noted that the genealogy of the last Guaramids was very obscure and had to be reconstructed on the basis of the particles of truth extracted from the List and of the *obiter dicta* of Juansher (III § 27). Apparently, it was as obscure in Sumbat's day as it has been in our own; but, unwilling to unravel the imbroglia of the *Royal List*, Sumbat simply drew upon it, merely adding the thread of filiation where it was lacking and omitting the persons he deemed extraneous to it. Now, it so happened that the *Royal List* confuses (or fuses together) Ashot the

<sup>50</sup> For these two titles, see Bury, *Imp. Adm. Syst.* 26, 28-29.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.* 155.



Great's father, Adarnase the Bagratid, with the IXth Prince of Iberia it calls Adrnese. This was accepted by Sumbat and, with his additions, became part of an artificial genealogy connecting in the male line Ashot the Great and Guaram I. Then, in order to achieve the second objective, Guaram I was made a descendant, not of the Chosroids as he actually was, but, in an uninterrupted filiation, of King David of Israel. True enough, Guaram I was made to arrive from abroad and the Armenian connexions of the Iberian Bagratids, which could not, obviously, be negated, were hinted at,<sup>52</sup> but the arrival of the national dynasty was thereby pushed two centuries back, to the sixth, instead of the eighth, century.

This artificial construction of Sumbat underwent, in the course of time, further modifications. Passages taken verbatim from Sumbat's work as well as others merely adapted from it were interpolated into the texts of Juansher and of the *Chronicle of Iberia* by the V Redaction of the Georgian Royal Annals (c. 1703/1761)<sup>53</sup>. One of the latter kind shows a further development: Nerse

<sup>52</sup> Sumbat 338: 'These seven brothers, sons of that Salomon, reached Eklec'i [Ekeleac' gawar, i.e., Acilisene in Upper Armenia? cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 218, n. 3] and Princess Rachel, from whom they received baptism. And they remained in the regions of Armenia, and there to this day their children [i.e. descendants] have been Princes of Armenia. And four of their brothers came to Iberia. And one of them, Guaram by name, was appointed duke; and the Bagratids of Iberia are the children's children and descendants of that Guaram.' The words italicized here are an obvious reference to the Armenian cousins of the Iberian Bagratids.

<sup>53</sup> These interpolations are as follows: (1) into Juanšer (218 n. 4), just before the appointment by the Emperor of Guaram I to the Principate of Iberia (*supra* II § 14): the genealogy from Adam to Guaram's legendary father, Solomon; then, with some modifications, the contents of Sumbat 338-340. This interpolated passage includes the sentence about the decline of Mc'xet'a and Armazi and the rise of Tiflis and Kala (*supra*, nn. 48, 30), derived from Juanšer and which, consequently, is afterwards encountered again, in its original place in that work, under Stephen I (cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 224 and n. 5). This interpolation: *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 216-220. — (2) Into Juanšer (225 n. 2), after the departure of Heraclius from Iberia (in 627): his arrival in 'Gardabani,' his victory over Varaz-Gagel, and his baptizing the latter, as well as his raising a stone cross at Berduji and laying the foundation of the church of Our Lady there (*Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 228): from Sumbat 340, except that Sumbat says nothing about a victory, but merely states that the Emperor 'arrived in Gardabani, at Varaz Gagel's, and camped in the place known as Xuzašeni. And Heraclius baptized Varaz-Grigol and all his people,' etc. Now, Varaz-Grigol or Varaz-Gagel is the same person as Varaz-Gregory, Prince of Gardman (in Georgian *Gardabani*). In the *Royal List*, Jibgu is said to have sent the skin of the commander of the fortress of Tiflis to the Emperor, to Varaz-Grigol's, in Gardabani (65). This passage of the List except for the mention of Varaz-Grigol, is almost verbatim taken from Juanšer 225, and is repeated, in turn, almost verbatim by Sumbat who thus again mentions Varaz-Grigol (341) (cf. *supra* n. 48). Sumbat's first reference to him must be derived from other sources. All these informations are of interest for the history of Albania: V § 17 n. 181. — (3) Into Juanšer (227 n. 8), upon the Emperor's return to Iberia (in 630; cf. *supra* II § 17), the King Vaxtang VI redaction interpolates the

who according to Sumbat and to the passage in question, was the father of Adarnase, father of Ashot the Great, is represented in that passage as a son of Varaz-Bakur, whereas Sumbat, in this one instance, fails to indicate any filiation. Moreover, Varaz-Bakur's father was — according to both Sumbat and our passage — the Curopalate Guaram (II), but whereas Sumbat makes the latter a son of Stephen II, our passage represents him as a 'son of the first Stephen.'<sup>54</sup> This latter change must be due to an attempt of the V Redaction to reconcile the Davidic descent as formulated by Sumbat with the evidence of Juansher, which makes it clear that the Chosroid branch of Adarnase I and Stephen II was distinct from the Guaramid branch of Stephen I and the Guarams. It is to a similar attempt to reconcile the data of the sources contained in the Annals with the claims of Sumbat that we may attribute the fact that Guaram I, whom the two earliest-known codices of the Annals, A and C, show to have been a 'brother's son' (*jmiscul*) of Vakhtang Gorgasal's son Mithridates, is called in later codices 'sister's son' (*discul*) of the same.<sup>55</sup> This attempt however, must date from a much earlier period than the V Redaction.<sup>56</sup> Exactly as Sumbat represented the Bagratids as descended from the Guaramids in the male, instead of in the female, line, so this redactor of the Annals must have attempted to alter Juansher's text in order to represent the Guaramids as descended in the female, instead of in the male line from the Chosroids, thus eliminating the conflict between the evidence of Juansher and the version of Sumbat of the Guaramids' direct male descent from King David. In view of this, it is especially to be regretted that the first critical edition of a collated text of the Annals should have preferred the later and unhistorical 'sister's son.'<sup>57</sup>

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the polyhistor Vakhusht, King Vakhtang VI's natural son, tried his hand at further elaborating the

story of the massacre of the Mazdalists in Iberia by Heraclius (*Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 321): from Sumbat 341 (cf. *supra* n. 48). — (4) Into Juanšer (229 n. 1), before the account of the rise of Islam: the note on Stephen II's residing at Tiflis; the Katholikoi Samuel and Enon; the census taken by the Imperial government in Iberia; and the arrival of the news of the Saracen capture of 'Baghdad' (= Ctesiphon) (*Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 244): from Sumbat 342 (cf. *supra* n. 48). There are also other interpolations into the KV text of the Annals, which are based on other sources than Sumbat. Cf. *Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.* 177 and n. 5; *infra* the foll. note.

<sup>54</sup> This interpolation, based on Sumbat 342, is in the *Chron. Iber.* (252 n. 1) after the acquisition of his portion of Cholarzene etc. by Adarnase the Bagratid (Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 259-260). The references in this and the preceding note to Brosset's translation of the Annals are given for the benefit of those who might use it without being aware of the interpolations.

<sup>55</sup> *Supra* I at n. 105.

<sup>56</sup> It is already found in M (1638/1645): cf. Q I 218.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

Sumbatean tradition. The details of this new version are beyond the scope of this study; suffice it to remark that he — *inter alia* — explicitly combined that tradition with the female descent of the Guaramids from the Chosroids, which, owing to the alteration of one word under the impact of the tradition in question, had been implicit in the later variants of the text of Juansher.<sup>58</sup>

## EXCURSUS B — COINS OF THE PRINCES OF IBERIA

The Iberian numismatics of the period of the Principate has been the subject of much discussion among the specialists for over a century. By far the best work on the subject, summing up the previous controversies and offering satisfactory solutions to many problems, is E. A. Pakhomov's study of the Georgian coins in the pre-Mongol period.<sup>1</sup> Yet even this work leaves unsettled some questions bearing directly upon the subject of the present Study.

The numismatic data for the period in question are rather meagre. There are fourteen types of silver coins known to us, but they belong to but a fraction of the period between Vakhtang I Gorgasal and Ashot the Great. All of these fourteen types are variations of a definitely Sassanian type, bearing on the obverse the effigy of the Great King Hormizd IV (579-590) accompanied in some cases by the Pehlevi inscription HRM AFZU ('the august Hormizd'), and on the reverse the representation of an altar, with varying accompaniments and in some cases Pehlevi inscriptions of which only the date 'seven' can be made out.<sup>2</sup> It appears, thus, that the first of these 'Sassano-Iberian' coins must have been copied from the drachms issued in the seventh year of Hormizd IV; whereas the following issues were struck after these copies, and not after the subsequent Sassanian issues.<sup>3</sup> The *terminus a quo* of this 'Sassano-Iberian' coinage is, consequently, the year 586 (seventh year of Hormizd IV). As is well known, a regular Islamic coinage was established only under the Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik (685-705) and, before that, the masters of the newly born Islamic empire contented themselves for the most part with allowing the circulation of the old coinage, Sassanian or Byzantine, that was already in use or with

<sup>58</sup> For Vaxušt's version of the early Bagratid genealogy, see Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* II/1 'Tables général.' 261-262; Justi, *Namenbuch* 406. This version has not lost its currency to this day: cf. GHA (f) 3 (1955) 247.

<sup>1</sup> *Monety Gruzii* I (hereinafter: P) 1-129. The later work of Kap'anaje, *Gruz. Numizm.* is hardly more, for the period of our interest, than a brief summary of Paxomov; cf. also J. Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne* (Paris 1928), which is to a great extent an adaptation of the obsolete work of Prince M. Barataev, *Numizmatičeskie fakty Gruzinskago carstva* (St Petersburg 1844); and Lang, *Studies*.

<sup>2</sup> P 16-36.

<sup>3</sup> P 23.

imitating those coins. In Iberia, a vassal State of the Caliphate from, probably, as early as 645, Arab coins were first minted at the beginning of the eighth century at Tiflis.<sup>4</sup> It can be assumed, therefore, that, prior to that time, that is, during the principates of Adarnase II, Guaram II, and Guaram III, the issuance of the old 'Sassano-Iberian' coinage, under the Caliph's or (occasionally) the Emperor's suzerainty, continued in Iberia.

The fourteen types of the 'Sassano-Iberian' coinage fall into seven classes. Below is a description of these classes giving only their essential distinguishing characteristics.

I. Nos 1-3. — Above the effigy of Hormizd IV, in a gap in the border, two Georgian letters, in ecclesiastical majuscules (*xuc'uri asomt'avruli*), GN.<sup>5</sup>

II. No. 4. — In the same place, the above two Georgian letters connected by a horizontal line to form the monogram: G—N.<sup>6</sup>

III. No. 5. — In the same place, the ligature: G+N.<sup>7</sup>

IV. No. 6. — In the same place, two Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules, JO.<sup>8</sup>

V. Nos 7-9. — No Georgian legend on the obverse; on the reverse, the altar surmounted by a cross.<sup>9</sup>

VI. No. 10. — On the margin of the obverse, outside the single border, at the four points of the compass, four Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules, each within a crescent: S <sup>N</sup><sub>P</sub> S (SteP'anNoS); double border on the reverse.<sup>10</sup>

VII. Nos. 11-14. The Georgian legend in ecclesiastical majuscules:  
 STEP' on either side of the Hormizd IV effigy; double border on the  
 ANO obverse, triple on the reverse; no Pehlevi inscriptions.<sup>11</sup>  
 S

Pakhomov is quite right in noting the basic differences between VI and VII and in attributing, accordingly, the former class to the coinage of Stephen I (who was an Iranian vassal) and the latter to Stephen II (a vassal of the Empire and a contemporary of the downfall of the Sassanid realm).<sup>12</sup> He is possibly right also in supposing that the Hormizd IV effigy accompanied by the Georgian legend is meant to represent Stephen II himself.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>4</sup> P 36-39.

<sup>5</sup> P 16-17; Table I, Nos 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> P 18; Table I, No. 11.

<sup>7</sup> P 18; Table I, No. 12.

<sup>8</sup> P 18-19; Table I, No. 13.

<sup>9</sup> P 25-27; Table I, Nos 14-16.

<sup>10</sup> P 28-29; Table I, No. 18.

<sup>11</sup> P 30-32; Table II, Nos 19-21.

<sup>12</sup> P 34-36.

<sup>13</sup> P 30-31.

Classes III and IV gave rise to a number of ingenious interpretations on the part of historians and numismatists. The legend JO (Class IV) has been variously interpreted as *Jovaxel'i* (*sic!*), *Javaxos*, and *Juanšer*; and, thus, a new ruler was invented for the Iberia of the sixth-seventh century: Juansher.<sup>14</sup> Pakhomov, who refrains from passing a final decision on the matter, nevertheless lists Class IV, i.e., Type No. 6, under 'Unknown *erist'av* (end VIth c.)'<sup>15</sup> Actually, already in 1858, the correct interpretation was proposed by J. Bartholomaei, namely, that JO legend stands for the exclamation *JuarO* = 'O Cross!' similar to pious exclamation on Islamic coins.<sup>16</sup> The Cross, indeed, was the object of a special cultus in the Iberia of the sixth and seventh centuries; Guaram I began, and Stephen II completed, the fine church of the Holy Cross (Juari), near Mts'khet'a; and, what is more, the latter's inscription in that church begins precisely with an invocation to the Cross, expressed by the letters JO.<sup>17</sup> This invocation on the coins of Class IV was, unquestionably, a prelude to the still greater innovation: the introduction of the image of the Cross surmounting the Sassanian altar on the reverse of the coins of Class V.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, the coins of Class IV appear to have been issued by Stephen II, granted the identity of their legend with the invocation of the Cross on his Juari inscription. As for the anonymous Class V, it is less easy to establish who minted them. Pakhomov's suggestion that their anonymity indicates their being struck not by a Prince of Iberia, but by one or several of his great vassals, may be true.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Class V evolved from Class IV: and we may consider the latter as the issue of Stephen II's successor Adarnase II. The placing of the representation of the Cross above the Sassanian altar on the reverse may well have been regarded as his identifying mark.

The ligature of Class III has also considerably exercised the ingenuity of savants. The most obvious interpretation, admitted as an alternative by Pakhomov,<sup>20</sup> is that, like the monogram of Class II, it represents the letters GN of Class I. Nevertheless, some scholars, including Pakhomov himself, chose to

<sup>14</sup> P 18-23; Markwart, *Streifzüge* 432, 397 n. 1. — The *u*-sound, later expressed by the letter *ჟ*, was generally expressed in ancient Georgian texts by the combination of the letters *ო* and *ჟ* (corresponding to the Greek *ov* and Armenian *ու*); thus, *Jowanšer*: Marr and Brière, *Langue* 12.

<sup>15</sup> P 23, 18

<sup>16</sup> *Lettres numismatiques et archéologiques, relatives à la Transcaucasie* (St Petersburg 1859) 93, 78; cf. V. Langlois, *Essai de classification des suites monétaires de la Géorgie* (Paris 1860) 21 etc.

<sup>17</sup> Tarchnišvili, *Récents découvertes* 252; cf. *supra* III at n. 21.

<sup>18</sup> P 24.

<sup>19</sup> P 24-25.

<sup>20</sup> P 21-22.

regard it as a combination of three letters: VNG and thus had to invent still another ruler of Iberia of the sixth-seventh century by the name of Vakhtang.<sup>21</sup> This Vakhtang, like Juansher, has no other proof for his existence than a possible interpretation of the legend in question. But *entia non sunt multiplicanda sine necessitate*, and I prefer that interpretation of the legend which makes it one with those of Classes II and I.

After various unsatisfactory interpretations of earlier savants, Georgian numismatists finally arrived at the conclusion that the letters GN stand for the name Gurgen.<sup>22</sup> Now, the Iberian rulers, between 586 and the threshold of the eighth century, whose name, beginning in a *g*, remotely resembles 'Gurgen,' were the three Curopalates, Guaram I, Guaram II, and Guaram III. The existence of these three Princes of Iberia is undeniable; that 'Guaram' and 'Gurgen' are different names, is unquestionable; that there should have been two distinct rulers, one — Gurgen revealed by the coins, but unknown to historiographic sources, the other — Guaram recorded by the chroniclers, but without a numismatic trace, as is suggested by Pakhomov<sup>23</sup> who knew of only one Guaram, the First, is as inadmissible as the belief in the above-mentioned imaginary Princes Juansher and Vakhtang. This problem can be solved perhaps otherwise.

Before this, however, it should be remarked that the issuing of coins of the Sassanian type by vassals of the Empire, like the three Guarams, need cause no surprise. Passing over the treaty of 591 which left Iberia partially under Iranian suzerainty (II § 14), there can be little doubt that, save the purely legal question of vassalage and its possibly very slight political implications, Iberia continued, as before, to be closely bound to the Iranian world, both culturally and economically.<sup>24</sup> This was the reason why another Roman vassal, Stephen II, continued the 'Sassano-Iberian' coinage; in exactly the same way, owing to economic rather than political considerations, the Georgian monarchs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, completely independent

<sup>21</sup> P 18, 21-23; cf. Kap'anaĭe, *Gruz. numizm.* 27. The presence of a similar monogram on some Georgian coins of the thirteenth century, when there were indeed two Kings named Vaxtang, but no Gurgen (P 22), is no reason for rejecting the more obvious interpretation of our legend which belongs to a period in which there was a Gurgen (= Guaram: *infra* nn. 26-35), but no Vaxtang. Cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge* 432.

<sup>22</sup> P 16, 19-23. Among the less fantastic interpretations is that of Brosset and Dorn who, considering the Great King of the effigy to be Hormizd III, saw in the legend GN the name of Gurgaslan, a — much later — variant of Gorgasal, the sobriquet of Vaxtang I.

<sup>23</sup> P 16: 'Gurgen (end viii century)' and coins Nos 1-3; - 23: 'Guaram (end viii century)' and the anonymous coins Nos 7-9.

<sup>24</sup> Cf., e.g., the Sassanian influence on the Ĵuari reliefs of Stephen II etc. (*supra* III § 21): Amiranašvili, *Ist. gruz. isk.* I 127-128.



sovereigns that they were, displayed the Caliph's name, and their own epithets in Arabic, on their coins.<sup>25</sup>

To return now to our onomastic problem, what connexion is there between the Curopalates named Guaram and the name Gurgun? It has been noted (I § 11) that the historical context necessitates the identification of Guaram I with Γοργένης of the Byzantine sources; and also (IV § 32; Excursus A) that Gurgun, father of the Xth Prince of Iberia, Stephen III, must have been none other than Gu(a)ram of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i, a descendant of Guaram I. Is this correlation of the two names fortuitous, or even wholly imaginary? I think not. It is to be borne in mind that the Guaramids were princes of two of the Ibero-Armenian marchlands, Cholarzene and Javakhet'i, which, though originally Iberian, had in the course of history vacillated, together with other lands, between the Iberian and the Armenian Monarchy. They had definitively passed under the control of the former only by the end of the fourth century. Cholarzene and the eastern moiety of Javakhet'i had been included in the Armenian Vitaxate of Gogarene, which itself had passed several times from Armenian to Iberian allegiance.<sup>26</sup> We happen to know from contemporary sources that, at the beginning of the seventh century, though already for some two and a quarter centuries under Iberian control, the nucleal territory of the Vitaxate continued to be, in speech at least, largely Armenian.<sup>27</sup> The later Georgian name for this province of the Georgian Crown — *Somxit'i*, that is, 'Armenia' — is alone an eloquent proof that this situation continued long after that epoch.<sup>28</sup> It is true, of course, that this nucleal territory of the Vitaxate must have been aboriginally Armenian, rather than Iberian. Nevertheless, even in the case of aboriginally Iberian Cholarzene and Javakhet'i, it would be hazardous to deny — with some modern nationalist Georgian scholars — the presence of the Armenian ethnic element and the spread of Armenian cultural and linguistic influence, consequent upon the inclusion of these lands — likewise vigorously denied by some — at one time or another

<sup>25</sup> P 81-129.

<sup>26</sup> See V § 11-16; Appendix.

<sup>27</sup> The liturgy at C'urtavi, the chief shrine of the martyred Princess of Gogarene, St Susan, and the capital of the Vitaxate, was in Armenian; it was only at the beginning of the seventh century that Georgian was introduced as another liturgical language there: Moses, Bishop of C'urtavi, to Vrt'anes, *Bk Lett.* 110; the same to Smbat IV Bagratuni, *ibid.* 172; I of Cyrion, Katholikos of Iberia, to Abraham, Katholikos of Armenia, *ibid.* 166-167; II of Cyrion to Abraham, *ibid.* 178-179. This was regarded by the Armenians as an outrage: I of Abraham to Cyrion, *ibid.* 164-165; Smbat IV Bagratuni to Cyrion and Adarnase (later Adarnase I), *ibid.* 169.

<sup>28</sup> See V at n. 164.

in the Armenian Monarchy.<sup>29</sup> With the scarcity of sources, however, there is little direct evidence, one way or the other. We may note, nevertheless, the presence of purely Armenian toponyms in Cholarzene and even north of it.<sup>30</sup> The ease with which Guaram-Gorgenes joined the Armenian revolt of 572 (I § 11), as well as the marriage of a Guaramid princess to Vasak, son of the Prince of Armenia (IV § 34), may possibly also be adduced in this context. But, even leaving aside the question of the Armenian ethnic element in the Guaramid dominions, the economic and political importance of Armenia for Iberia in general and, in particular, for Cholarzene is a fact few will be prepared to dispute. And if the monarchs of the Georgian *grand siècle* resorted to Arabic legends on their coins and to the use of Arabic titles, unknown in Georgian, such as 'The Sword of the Messias' or 'The Champion of the Messias,' because of the economic and political importance of the world of Islam,<sup>31</sup> similar concessions to the neighbouring world of Armenia on the part of the Guaramid Princes of Iberia would not be altogether unexpected.

Now, the name Guram or Guaram is a purely Georgian derivative, together with the Armenian form Vram, from the Iranian Vahrām; it was not familiar to the Armenians of the time.<sup>32</sup> I assume, accordingly, that the Guaramids who bore that name were wont to 'translate' it, for the sake of their Armenian or Armenianizing subjects and of their Armenian neighbours, by its purely Armenian near-homophone Gurgēn. Thus, for instance, Germans in the former Russian Empire, while retaining for their fellow-Germans their original names of, let us say, Wilhelm or Friedrich, would at the same time 'translate' them by the Russian names Vasilij or Feodor, not indeed for reason of any etymological affinity, but for that of the identity of the initial letters. In the case of 'Gu(a)ram' and 'Gurgen' this identity extends to the first three letters.

<sup>29</sup> Cf., in this connexion, Marr, 'Ark'aun — mongol'skoe nazvanie xristian v svyazi s vo-prosom ob Armjanax-xalkedonitax,' VV 12 (1906) 21-25, 6-7, 16-17; and Prolegomena to his ed. of Merč'ule's *Life of St Gregory of Xanji'a* xiii-xvi. Some of Marr's arguments, in connexion with his ed. of the Arab. *Life of St Gregory*, however, can no longer be accepted; cf. Garitte, *Documents* 338-350. For nationalist denials, see *V passim*.

<sup>30</sup> Šatberdi and Mijanažoro, sites of famous abbeys, in Cholarzene, for instance: cf. Blake and Der Nersessian, *Gospels of Bert'ay* 283; Karst, *Corpus juris* I/2/1 71 n. 2, 77; while north of Cholarzene, in Nigali, lay Art'vini and Anakerti: V n. 73. Quite significant in this connexion is the charter of King Bagrat IV of Georgia (1027-1072) to, precisely, the Abbeys of Šatberdi and Mijanažoro, where the dynasts of Tao and Cholarzene are referred to by the Armenian term *tanutēr*: cf. Karst 76 and, for the term, I at n. 185; cf. also V § 8-9. — Cholarzene was probably less Armenianized than Tao.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 25.

<sup>32</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch* 121; the Georgian name was rendered by later Armenian historians as *Goram*.

Thus, the domestic, Iberian, usage, recorded by Juansher and, after him, by the *Royal List* (cf. Excursus A), was 'Guaram' or 'Guram'; while the name destined for official usage, especially in connexion with foreign relations, and found in the coinage and in foreign sources, was 'Gurgen.'<sup>33</sup> In the *Martyrdom of St Abo*, a hagiographic work not concerned with legal and political niceties, the latter form was used; and possibly thence it passed to Sumbat (Excursus A).<sup>34</sup> Finally, the Bagratid successors of the Guaramids affected at first the Georgian form, being anxious no doubt not to flaunt their recent foreign extraction; but, in the subsequent generations, in the branch that reigned in the Armenianized lands of Cholarzene and of Tao, they adopted the Armenian form.<sup>35</sup>

On the basis of the above conjecture, it may be suggested that the 'Sassano-Iberian' coins of Class I (with the initials GN) belong to Guaram I, while those of Class II (with the monogram G — N) and of Class III (with the ligature G + N), representing each a successive step in the further development of the Class I type, belong to the issues of Guaram II and Guaram III, respectively.

<sup>33</sup> It will be recalled that the Georgian Kings entrusted, to the very end of the Georgian polity, their chancelleries to houses of Armenian origin and often conducted their correspondence with foreign monarchs in Armenian.

<sup>34</sup> By Sumbat's day (c. 1030), the name Gurgen had become just as Georgian as Guaram, through its use by the Bagratids: the following note.

<sup>35</sup> Ašot the Great's youngest son was Guaram of Javaxet'i; but the branches of Tao and of Cholarzene, descended from his eldest son Adarnase, used freely the name Gurgen: cf. *Bagrat. of Iber.* I Nos 7, 8, 25, 28, 41, 52; also 55.

## TABLE

OF

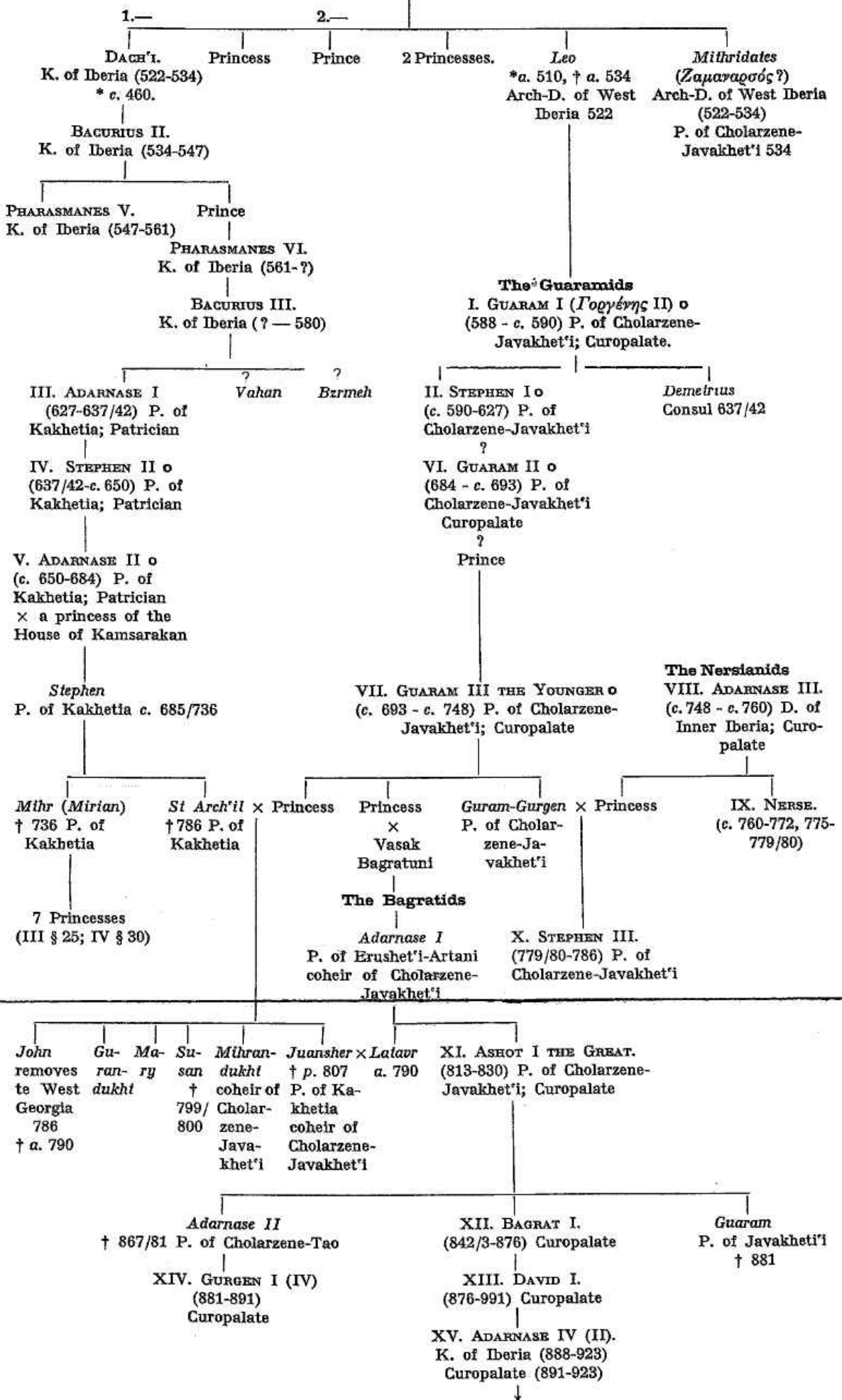
## THE KINGS AND PRINCES OF IBERIA FROM THE SIXTH TO THE NINTH CENTURY

(Roman numerals indicate the Presiding Princes; *Sigla*: D. = Duke, K. = King, P. = Prince; parentheses enclose regnal years; a. = ante, c. = circa, p. = post; d. = daughter, \* = born, × married, † = died, o = coins. For the Bagratids, see *The Bagratids of Iberia I.*)

## The Chosroids

VAKHTANG I GORGASAL (*Γουγγέρης I.*)

K. of Iberia (c. 446-522) \* c. 439. × (1) c. 458 Balendukht, d. of the Great King Hormizd III.  
(2) p. 484 Helena, relative of the Emperor Zeno.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## I. ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TITLES OF PERIODICALS, SERIAL PUBLICATIONS, COLLECTIONS, GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE, AND ENCYCLOPAEDIAS.

A	= Queen Anne Codex of the Georgian Annals [Intro. 21].
AB	= <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels).
ABibl	= <i>Analecta biblica</i> (Rome).
AdG	= <i>Almanach de Gotha</i> (Gotha).
AG	= <i>L'Ancienne Géorgie</i> / <i>Jveli Sak'art'velo</i> (Tiflis).
AGWG	= <i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F.</i> (Berlin).
AIPhH	= <i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Brussels).
Aktg	= <i>Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoj Arxeografičeskoj Kommissieju</i> (Tiflis).
AM	= <i>Azgayin Matenadaran</i> / <i>Nationalbibliothek</i> (Vienna).
AQ	= <i>Armenian Quarterly</i> (New York).
Ar	= <i>Armeniaca</i> (Leipzig).
At	= <i>Ararat</i> (Ejmiadzin).
B	= <i>Byzantion</i> (Brussels).
BA	= <i>Bulletin arménologique</i> ( <i>Mélanges de l'Université de Saint Joseph</i> ) (Beyrouth).
BAR	= <i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> (Paris).
BASP	= <i>British Academy, Supplementary Papers</i> (London).
BIM	= <i>Bulletin de l'Institut Marr</i> / <i>Enis, istorisa da mater. kulturis institutl akad. N. Marisa sax.</i> (Tiflis).
BK	= <i>Bedi Kart(h)lisa. Revue de kart(h)velologie</i> (Paris).
BM	= <i>Banber Matenadaran</i> (Erivan).
BO	= <i>Biblica et orientalia</i> (Rome).
BSE	= <i>Bol'shaja sovetskaja enciklopedija</i> .
BSOAS	= <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London).
BVSGW	= <i>Berichte über Verhandlungen der königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften</i> (Leipzig).
Ca	= <i>Eraĭ Čalašvili Codex of the Georgian Annals</i> [Intro. 21].
Ca	= <i>Caucasica</i> (Leipzig).
CAH	= <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> (Cambridge).
CBMIB	= <i>Corpus bruxellense historiae byzantinae</i> (Brussels).
CGFAL	= <i>Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library</i> (Lisbon).
CHA	= <i>Collection d'historiens arméniens</i> (St Petersburg).
CHAMA	= <i>Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie</i> (Paris).
CHR	= <i>The Catholic Historical Review</i> (Washington).
CMH	= <i>Cambridge Medieval History</i> (Cambridge).
COS	= <i>Cambridge Oriental Series</i> (London).
CPEG	= <i>Corpus poetarum epicorum graecorum</i> (Leipzig).
GPh	= <i>Classical Philology</i> (Chicago).



- CSHB = *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn).
- CSCO = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* (Louvain).
- D = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig).
- DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.
- DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*.
- DuCange, *Gl.gr.* = C. du F. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyons 1688).
- EB = *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.
- EESE = *Études d'ethnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie* (Paris).
- EHR = *English Historical Review* (London).
- EI = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
- ES = *Ėnciklopedičeskij Slovar'*.
- FHG = *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* (Paris).
- G = *Geographica* (London).
- GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig).
- GHA(f) = *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels: Fürstliche Häuser* (Glücksburg).
- HA = *Handes Amsorya* (Vienna).
- HE = *Histoire de l'Église, depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, publiée sous la direction de: Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin* (Paris).
- HM = *Histoire du monde, publiée sous la direction de M. E. Cavaignac* (Paris).
- HMA = *Histoire du Moyen-Age (Histoire générale)* (Paris).
- HT = *Hratarakut'wn T'ip'lisi ėnk. Hayerĕn grk'ert hrat.* (St Petersburg).
- IAAN = *Izvestija Armjanskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Erevan).
- IANA = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk Armjanskogo SSB* (Erevan).
- IANs = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
- IGA = *Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj Akademii istorii material'noj kul'tury* (Leningrad/Moscow).
- IIAN = *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* (St Petersburg).
- IKO = *Izvestija Kavkazskago Otdelenija Imp. Moskovskago Arzeologičeskago Obščestva* (Moscow).
- IOA = *Izvestija Obščestva obsledovanija i izučenijsa Azerbajdžana* (Baku).
- IZ = *Istoričeskije Zapiski* (Moscow).
- JA = *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
- JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore).
- JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.
- JEH = *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (London).
- JM = L. Jalabert and R. Mousterde, S. J., *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie I: Commagène et Cyrrestique* (Paris 1929).
- JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).
- K = *Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Leipzig).
- KAO = *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients* (Munich).
- KGE = *Kratkaja geografičeskaja ėnciklopedija*.
- KSINA = *Kratkie soobščenijsa Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
- L = *Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America* (Baltimore).
- LCL = *The Loeb Classical Library* (London/New York).
- LeM = *Le Muséon* (Louvain).
- LM = *Lukasean Matenadaran* (Tiflis).



- LOS = *London Oriental Series* (London).  
 M = *Queen Mary Codex of the Georgian Annals* [Introd. 21].  
 MA = *Mélanges asiastiques* (St Petersburg).  
 MAK = *Materialy po arzeologii Kavkaza* (Moscow).  
 Mansi = J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*.  
 MB = *Le monde byzantin (L'évolution de l'humanité)* (Paris).  
 MBE = *Monumenta biblica et ecclesiastica* (Rome).  
 MDGKO = *Morgenland. Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens* (Berlin).  
 MDO = *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin).  
 MGT = *Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok* (Budapest).  
 Mn = *Memnon. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte des alten Orients* (Berlin/Stuttgart/Leipzig).  
 Mo = *Moambe* (Tiflis).  
 MSKI = *Masalebi Sak'art'velos da Kavkasiis istoriidan* (Tiflis).  
 NNM = *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (New York).  
 NTS = *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* (Oslo).  
 OCa = *Orientalia Christiana* (Rome).  
 OCs = *Oriens christianus* (Leipzig).  
 P = *P'orj* (Tiflis).  
 PG = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*.  
 PO = *Patrologia orientalis*.  
 PSBF = *Pubblicazioni dello Studium biblicum Franciscanum* (Jerusalem).  
 Q = Qauxč'išvili ed. of the *Georgian Annals* [Introd. 23].  
 Qub = S. Qubaneišvili, *Jveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomaf'ia I* (Tiflis 1946).  
 RA = *Rivista araldica* (Rome).  
 RAss = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Berlin/Leipzig).  
 RE = Pauly, Wissowa, Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.  
 REA = *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris).  
 REAnc = *Revue des études anciennes* (Bordeaux).  
 RHA = *Revue hittite et asianique* (Paris).  
 RHC(a) = *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens*.  
 RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris).  
 RSJB = *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin* (Paris).  
 S = *Syria* (Paris).  
 SAG = *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte* (Vienna).  
 SBE = *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica* (Oxford).  
 SH = *Sop'er k' Haykakank'* (Venice).  
 SIA = *Studia instituti Anthropos* (Vienna).  
 SM = *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mjestnostej i plemen Kavkaza* (Tiflis).  
 SMM = *Sak'art'velos Muzeumis moambe* (Tiflis).  
 SMMn = *Sahak Mesropean matenadaran* (Tiflis).  
 SSKG = *Sbornik sojedenij o kavkazskix gorcaz* (Tiflis).  
 ST = *Studi e testi* (Vatican City).  
 Spiski = *The Russian Empire, The College of Herald's of the Governing Senate, Spiski titulovannykh rodov i licam Rossijskoj imperii* (St Petersburg 1892).

- SZAG = *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte* (Vienna).
- T = *Traditio* (New York).
- TEB = *Traité d'études byzantines* (*Bibliothèque byzantine*) (Paris).
- TRAGF = *Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii* (St Petersburg).
- TUAL = *Texte und Untersuchungen der altarmenischen Literatur* (Vienna).
- TUM = *Tp'ilisis Universitatis moambe* (Tiflis).
- TUS = *Travaux de l'Université Staline* (Tiflis).
- UMS(h) = *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series* (New York).
- V = King Vaxtang VI Redaction of the Georgian Annals [Introd. 21-22].
- Vn = *Vostan. Cahiers d'histoire et de civilisation arméniennes* (Paris).
- VDI = *Vestnik drevnej istorii* (Moscow).
- Vo = *Vostok* (Leningrad).
- VV = *Vizantijskij vremennik* / *Βυζαντινὰ Χρονικά* (St Petersburg, later Moscow/Leningrad).
- WNZ = *Wiener numismatisches Zeitschrift* (Vienna).
- WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna).
- Z = T<sup>e</sup>. Žordania, *K'ronikebi da sxva masala Sak'art'velos istoriisa* (Tiflis).
- ZIV = *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow/Leningrad).
- ZMNP = *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvješčenija* (St Petersburg).
- ZVO = *Zapiski vostočnago otdjelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Arxeologičeskago Obščestva* (St Petersburg).

## II. LITERARY SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

### A. CAUCASIAN SOURCES

#### a. Armenian

- Ananias = Ananias of Siracene (Anania Širakac'i), *Geography*, ed. Ašar-hac'oyc' Movsesi Xorenac'woy, Venice 1881. — The brief version: ed. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* II, Paris 1819 318-377.
- Arab Life of St Gregory, see The Gregorian Cycle.
- Aristaces = Aristaces of Lastivert (Aristakēs Lastivertc'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. Patmuŋiwn Aristakeay vardapeti Lastivertc'woy (LM 6 1912).
- Arm. Agath., see The Gregorian Cycle.
- Artawazd, Abbot of Erašxavork', *Martyrdom of Saint Vahan of Colthene*, ed. Olbk' vasn ėoreac'n ašxarhis Hayoc' ew vkayabanut'wn srboyn Vahanay Gol'f'nac'woy (SH 13 1854).
- Asojik = Stephen Asojik of Tarawn (Step'annōs [Asojik/Asojnik] Tarōnec'i), *Universal History*, ed. S. Malxaseanc', *Step'annosi Tarōnec'woy Asojkan patmuŋiwn tiezarakan* (HT 20 1885).
- Bk. Lett. = *The Book of Letters*, ed. Girk' f'lf'oc', *Malenagrut'wn narxneac'* (SMMn 5 1901).

- Cyriacus** = Cyriacus of Ganja (Kirakos Ganjakec'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *Patmut'iwn Hayoc' arareal Kirakosi vardapeti Ganjakec'woy* (LM 3 1909).
- Eliseus** = Eliseus (Elišē), *History of the Vardanians*, ed. *Elišēi patmut'iwn Vardananc'* (LM 11 1913).
- Faustus** = Faustus of Buzanda (P'awstos Buzandac'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *P'awstosi Biwzandac'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, Venice 1933.
- Gk Agath., Gk List** see The Gregorian Cycle.  
= Greek List of the Katholikoi and Rulers of Armenia, *apud Narratio*.
- The Gregorian Cycle** — I Recension: The Agathangelus. A. Arm. Agath. = The Armenian Agathangelus, ed. *Agathangelay patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 15 1914). — B. Gk Agath. = The Greek Agathangelus, ed. V. Langlois, in CHAMA 1 (1867) 109-193. — II Recension: The Life of Saint Gregory. A. Gk Life of St Gregory = The Greek Life of Saint Gregory, ed. G. Garitte, *Πράξεις καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος Γρηγορίου τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας*, in *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (ST 127 1946). — B. Arab. Life of Saint Gregory = The Arabic Life of Saint Gregory, ed. N. Marr, *Kreščenie Armjan Gruzin, Abxazov i Alanov svjatym Grigoriem* (ZVO 16 1905) 63-211.
- Gregory of Akner** = Gregory of Akner (Grigor Aknerc'i), *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols)*, Cambridge [Massachusetts] 1954.
- John Kath.** = John VI of Drasxanakert (Yovhannēs Drasxanakertec'i), Katholikos of Armenia, *History of Armenia*, ed. Yovhannu kat'olikosi Drasxanakertec'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc' (LM 5 1912).
- Ps. John Mamikonean** = Pseudo-John Mamikonean, *History of Tarawn*, ed. Yovhannu Mamikoneni episkoposi patmut'iwn Tarōnoy, Venice 1889.
- Koriwn** = Koriwn, *Life of Saint Maštoc'*, ed. N. Akinean, *Koriwn, Vark' S. Maštoc'i* (TUAL 1/1 1952).
- Lazarus** = Lazarus of P'arpi (Lazar P'arpec'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *Lazaray P'arpec'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 2 1907).
- Leontius** = Leontius (Lewond) the Priest, *History of Armenia*, ed. I. Ezeanc', *Patmut'iwn Lewondeay meci vardapeti Hayoc'*, St Petersburg 1887.
- Matt. Edess.** = Matthew of Edessa (Matt'ēos Uḡhayec'i), *Chronicle (Žamankagrut'iwn)*, ed. *Patmut'iwn Matt'eosi Uḡhayec'woy*, Jerusalem 1869.
- Moses Kał.** = Moses of Kałankaytuk' or of Dasxurēn (Movsēs Kałankatuac'i or Dasxuranc'i), *History of Albania*, ed. M. Ėmin, *Movsēsi Kałankatuac'woy patmut'iwn Ałuanic' ašzarhi* (LM 8 1912).
- Ps. Moses** = Pseudo-Moses of Chorene (Movsēs Xorenac'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. Srboy hōrn meroy Movsēsi Xorenac'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc' (LM 10 1913).
- Mxit'ar Goš, Code** (*Daslanagirk' Hayoc' mecač'*), ed. V. Bastameanc', Vałaršapat 1880.
- Narratio** = *Narratio de rebus Armeniae (Διήγησις)*, ed. G. Garitte, *La*

- Narratio de rebus Armeniae. Édition critique et commentaire* (CSGO 132, Subsidia 4 1952).
- Prim. Hist. Arm.** = *Primary History of Armenia*, apud Sebēos.
- Sebēos** = Sebēos, *History of Heraclius*, ed. Patmuf'iwn Sebēosi episkoposi i Herakln (LM 7 1913).
- Smbat of Babarōn, High Constable of Armenia**, Code, ed. J. Karst, *Sempadscher Kodex... oder mittelarmerinisches Rechtsbuch*, Strasbourg 1905-1906.
- Stephen Orbellian** = Stephen Orbellian (Step'annos Ōrbēlean), *History of Siunia*, ed. K. Šahnazarean, *Patmuf'iwn nahangin Sisakan arareal Step'annosi Ōrbēlean ark'episkoposi Siwneac'*, Paris 1859.
- Thomas** = Thomas (T'ovma) Arcruni, *History of the House of Arcruni*, ed. T'ovmay vardapeti Arcrunioy patmuf'iwn tann Arcruney, Tiflis 1917. — Its latter part is Thomas Contin. = Thomas Continuatus.
- Thomas Contin., Ps. Uxtanēs** see Thomas.
- = Pseudo-Uxtanēs, *History of the Ibero-Armenian Schism (Patmuf'iwn bažanman Vrac' ew Hayoc')*, Vałaršapat 1871.
- Vardan** = Vardan, *Universal History*, ed. Hawak'umn patmuf'ean Vardanay vardapeti lusabaneal, Venice 1862.
- Ps. Vardan, Georg.** = *Geography* attributes to Vardan, ed. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* II, Paris 1819, 406-453.
- Ps. Zenobius** = Pseudo-Zenobius (Zenob) of Glak, *History of Tarawn*, ed. Patmuf'iwn Tarōnoy zor torgmaneay Zenob Asori, Venice 1889.

## [Available to the Author in Translation]

- Samuel of Ani** = Samuel of Ani, or The Priest (Anec'i or Erēc'; end of the twelfth century), *Chronique*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 340-483.
- Zacharias the Deacon, Cart.** = Zacharias the Deacon (Zak'aria Sarkavag; 1626-1699), *Cartulaire de Ioannou-Vank*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 155-189.
- Zacharias the Deacon, Sofis** = Zacharias the Deacon, *Mémoires historiques sur les Sofis*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 1-151.

## b. Georgian

- Basil** = Basil, Master of the Court (Basili, Ezos-Mojguari), *History of Queen Tamar (C'xovreba mep'el' mep'el'a T'amarisi)*, ed. Q II 115-150.
- Basil of Zarma, Chron. Iber.** = *Life of Saint Serapion of Zarzma*, ed. Qub 86-96.
- Conv. Iber.** = *Chronicle of Iberia (Matiane K'art'liša)*, ed. Q I 249-317.
- = Gregory the Deacon (Grigol Diakonī), *The Conversion of Iberia (Mok'c'eva K'art'liša)*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 50-59 = ed. N. Marr and M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne*, Paris 1931, 511-514.
- Divan** = Bagrat III, King of Georgia, *Divan of the Kings (Divani mep'el'a)*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in AG 2/3 (1911-1913) 28-54.

- George Hagior. = George the Hagiorite (Giorgi Mt'acmindeli), *Life of Saints John and Euthymius*, ed. I. Javaxišvili and A. Šanije, Tiflis 1946.
- Hist. David III = Arsenius the Monk, *History of King David III (II) (C'xovreba mep'el' mep'isa Davit'isi)*, ed. Q I 318-364.
- Hist. Eul. Sov. = First Historian of Tamar, *Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns (Istoriani da azmani šaravandedt'ani)*, ed. Q II 1-114.
- Hist. Five Reigns = Historian of George IV, *History of the Five Reigns*, ed. Q I 365-369.
- HVG, see Juanšer.
- Juanšer = Juanšer Juanšeriani, *History of King Vaxtang Gorgasal (C'xovreba Vaxtang Gorgaslisa)*, ed. Q I 138-244. — Its first part = HVG.
- Leont. Mrov. = Leontius Bishop of Ruisi (Leonti Mroveli), *History of the Kings of Iberia (C'xovreba k'art'uef'a mep'el'a)*, ed. Q I 3-138.
- Mart. Abo = John, son of Saban (Ioane Sabanisje), *Martyrdom of Saint Abo (Martwlobay Haboysi)*, ed. Qub 54-71.
- Mart. Arč'il = *Martyrdom of Saint Arč'il (Cameba emidisa da didebulisa mo-camisa Arč'ilisi)*, ed. Q I 245-248.
- Mart. Eust. = *Martyrdom of Saint Eustace of Mc'xe'f'a (Martwlobay Eustat'i mc'xe'felisay)*, ed. Qub 44-54.
- Martyrdom of the Nine Infants of Kola*, ed. N. Marr, *Mučeničestvo olrokov Kolažeev* (TRAGF 5 1903).
- Mart. Susan = James the Priest of C'urtavi (Iakob C'urtaveli), *Martyrdom of Saint Susan (Martwlobay Šušanikisi)*, ed. Qub 34-44.
- Merč'ule = George (Giorgi) Merč'ule, *Life of Saint Gregory of Xanji'a (Šromay da mo'guacebay... Grigolisi ark'imandrilisay Xanji'isa...)*, ed. N. Marr, *Georgij Merčul: Žitie sv. Grigorija Xandztijskago* (TRAGF 7 1911).
- Mesch. Chron. = Meschian Chronographer (Žamt'aagmcereli). *History of the Mongol Invasions*, ed. Q II 151-325.
- Prim. Hist. Iber. = *Primary History of Iberia*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 48-49 = ed. N. Marr and M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne*, Paris 1931 569-570.
- Roy. List = *Royal List I, II, III*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 49-50, 59-66, 66-67.
- Sumbat = Sumbat, son of David (Davit'isje), *History of the Bagratids (C'xovreba da ucqeba Bagratonianf'a)*, ed. M 336-361.
- Vit. Nin. = *Life of Saint Nino*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 67-96; — 42 (1912) 1-57.

## B. NON-CAUCASIAN SOURCES

- Acts = The Acts of the Apostles.
- Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani (Scriptores historiae augustae)*, ed. LCL.
- Aeneas Sylvius, *Ep.* = Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II, Pope), *Epistolarum liber I*, Basel 1571.
- Aeschylus, *Prom. vinct.* = Aeschylus, *Prometheus vinctus*, ed. LCL.

- Aeschylus, *Sept. con Theb.*  
 Agathias  
 Amm. Marcell.  
 Anastasius Apocr.  
  
 Anastasius the Librarian  
  
 Anonym. *Peripl.* [Lond.]  
  
 Apollodorus, *Bibl.*  
 Apollodorus, *Perieg.*  
 Apollonius Rhod., *Arg.*  
  
 Appian, *Mithr.*  
 Appian, *Syr.*  
 Arrian, *Anab.*  
 Arrian, *Peripl.*  
  
 Arrian, *Succ. Alex.*  
 Cassius Dio  
  
 Cedrenus  
  
 Chron. pasch.  
 Cicero, *Ep. ad fam.*  
 Cod. Just.  
  
 Cod. Theod.  
  
 Const. Porphy., *De adm. imp.*  
  
 Const. Porphy., *De cerim.*  
  
 I Cor.  
 Ctesias, *Pers.*  
 Curtius  
  
 Demosthenes, *Orat.*  
 Dio Chrys.  
 Diodorus  
 Ephorus  
 Esther.  
 Eusebius, *Praep. evang.*  
 Eusebius, *Chron.*  
 Ezech.  
 Gal.
- = Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, ed. LCL.  
 = Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. PG 88.  
 = Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed. LCL.  
 = Anastasius the Priest and Apocrisiarius of Rome, *Epistola ad Theodosium presbyterum Gangrensem*, ed. PG 90 171-194.  
 = Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia ecclesiastica ... ex Theophane contracta*, ed. PG 108 1205-1428.  
 = Pseudo-Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (Codex Londiniensis), ed. A. Baschmakoff [*Synthèse*], EESE 2 128-141.  
 = Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ed. FHG I 104-179.  
 = Apollodorus, *Periegesis*, ed. FHG I 449-453.  
 = Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, ed. R. Merkel, CPEG 4 (1852).  
 = Appian, *Romanae historiae: Mithridatica*, ed. LCL.  
 = Appian, *Romanae historiae: Syriaca*, ed. LCL.  
 = Arrian, [*Anabasis*] *De expeditione Alexandri*, ed. LCL.  
 = Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, ed. A. Baschmakoff [*Synthèse*], EESE 3 80-107.  
 = Arrian, *De rebus successorum Alexandri*, ed. LCL.  
 = Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historiae romanae*, ed. V. P. Boissvain, Berlin 1955.  
 = George Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. CSHB (1838).  
 = *Chronicon paschale*, ed. PG 92.  
 = M. Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares*, ed. LCL.  
 = *Corpus juris civilis: Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger, II, 9th ed., Berlin 1915.  
 = *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. T. Mommsen and P. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI*, Berlin 1905.  
 = Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Eastern Emperor, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, MGT 29 (1949).  
 = Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Eastern Emperor, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. PG 112.  
 = I Corinthians.  
 = Ctesias, *De rebus persicis*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1887.  
 = Quintus Curtius Rufus, *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*, ed. LCL.  
 = Demosthenes, *Orationes*, ed. LCL.  
 = Dio Cocceianus Chrysostomus, *Orationes*, ed. LCL.  
 = Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, ed. LCL.  
 = Ephorus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 234-277.  
 = Eusebius Pamphili, *Praeparatio evangelica*, ed. PG 21.  
 = Eusebius Pamphili, *Chronicorum libri duo*, ed. PG 19.  
 = Ezechiel.  
 = Galatians.



- Gen. = Genesis.
- George the Monk, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1904.
- Hecataeus = Hecataeus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 1-31.
- Hellanicus = Hellanicus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 45-69.
- Herodotus = Herodotus, *Historiae*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1887.
- Hippolytus of Rome, *Chronica*, ed. A. Bauer and R. Helm, GCS 36 (1929).
- Isai. = Isaias.
- John of Ant. = Johannes Antiochenus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 535-622.
- John of Ephesus, *Eccl. Hist.* = John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. CSCO (Scriptores syri).
- John of Ephesus, *Saints* = John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. PO 17-19.
- John Lydus = Johannes Lydus, *De magistratibus populi romani*, ed. R. Wünsch, Leipzig 1903.
- Josephus, *Ant.* = Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae*, ed. B. Niese, Berlin 1855.
- Josephus, *Bell. jud.* = Flavius Josephus, *Bellum judaicum*, ed. B. Niese, Berlin 1855.
- Josephus, *Con. Apion.* = Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, ed. B. Niese, Berlin 1855.
- Ps. Josue the Stylites = Ps. Josue the Stylites, *Chronicle*, ed. W. Wright, Cambridge 1882.
- Julius Capitolinus, *Vita Pii (Scriptores historiae augustae)*, ed. LCL.
- Justinian I, Emperor, *Corpus juris civilis: Novellae*, ed. R. Schöll and G. Kroll, III, 4th ed. Berlin 1912.
- 4 Kings.
- Luke.
- 2 Mac. = 2 Machabees.
- Malalas = Johannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. CSHB (1831)
- Mark.
- Matt. = Matthew.
- Memnon = Memnon, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG III 525-558.
- Menander = Menander Protector, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 200-269.
- Odys.* = *Odyssee*, ed. LCL.
- 1 Par. = 1 Paralipomenon.
- 2 Par. = 2 Paralipomenon.
- Peter the Patrician = Petrus Patricius, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 181-191.
- Philothheus, *Clet.* = Philothheus, *Cletorologion* (apud Const. Porphy. *De cerim.*).
- Plato, *Resp.* = Plato, *Respublica*, ed. LCL.
- Pliny = C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis historia*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Antonius*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Crassus*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Eumenes*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Lucullus*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Pompeius*, ed. LCL.
- Polyaenus = Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ed. E. Woelfflin and J. Melber, Leipzig 1887.

- Polybius = Polybius, *Historiae*, ed. LCL.
- Priscus = Priscus Panita, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 69-110.
- Procopius, *De aed.* = Procopius of Caesarea, *De aedificiis*, ed. LCL.
- Procopius, *Bell. goth.* = Procopius of Caesarea, *Bellum gothicum*, ed. LCL.
- Procopius, *Bell. pers.* = Procopius of Caesarea, *Bellum persicum*, [ed. LCL.
- Procopius, *Bell. vand.* = Procopius of Caesarea, *Bellum vandalicum*, ed. LCL.
- Ptolemy = Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1905.
- Russ. Prim. Chron.* = (*Russian Primary Chronicle*) *Povjest' Vremennyx Ljet*, ed. D. Lixačev, Moscow/Leningrad 1950.
- Sallust, *Hist. fragm.* = C. Crispus Sallustus, *Historiarum fragmenta (Opera quae extant omnia)*, ed. I. Burnouf, Turin 1827.
- Scylax, *Peripl.* = Scylax of Coryanda, *Periplus*, ed. A. Baschmakoff [*Synthèse*], EESE 3 62-79.
- G. Jul. Solinus = G. Julius Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. I. Burnouf, Turin 1827.
- Steph. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnica*, ed. W. Dindorf, Leipzig 1825.
- Strabo = Strabo, *Geographia*, ed. LCL.
- Tacitus, *Ann.* = C. Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales*, ed. LCL.
- Theodosius and Theodore of Gangra, *Hypomnest.* = Theodosius and Theodore, Priests of Gangra, *Scholium, sive Hypomnesticum*, ed. PG 90 194-202.
- Theophanes, *Chron.* = Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. PG 108.
- Theoph. Byz. = Theophanes Byzantinus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 270-271.
- Theophylactus = Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1887.
- Theopompus = Theopompus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 278-333.
- Trogus Pomp. = Cn. Pompeius Trogus, *Historiae Philippicae, apud [Prologi]* M. Junianus Justinus, ed. O. Seel, Leipzig 1935.
- Valerius Maximus = Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, ed. C. Kempf, Leipzig 1888.
- Vita S. Danielis Stylitis*, ed. H. Delehaye, AB 32 (1913).
- Wadding, *Ann. Min.* = Lucas Waddingus, *Annales Minorum XIII*, Rome 1735.
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